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THE

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

No. LIX.

APRIL, 1828.

NEW SERIES, No. XXXIV.

BOSTON,
PUBLISHED BY FREDERICK T. GRAY.

NEW YORK,
BY G. AND C. CARVILL.

LONDON,
BY JOHN MILLER, NO. 40 PALL MALL.

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VOL. XXVI.

New Series.

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BOSTON:

FREDERICK T. GRAY,—74 WASHINGTON STREET.

1828.

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APRIL, 1828.

ART. I.—*Denkwürdigkeiten meiner Zeit, oder Beiträge zur Geschichte vom letzten Viertel des achtzehnten und vom Anfang des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts*, 1778 *bis* 1806. Von CHRISTIAN WILHELM VON DOHM. Lemgo und Hanover. 1–5 Bände. 1814–1819.

Memoirs of My Own Times, or Contributions to the History of the Last Quarter of the Eighteenth and the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century, 1778 to 1806. By CHRISTIAN WILLIAM VON DOHM.

THE author of this work died at Pustleben in May, 1820. The history does not strictly correspond to the promise of the titlepage, as it illustrates only the period from 1778 to 1786, the time of the death of Frederic the Second. The intention of the author doubtless extended further; but disease and the infirmities of age prevented its execution. He himself gives as a title to this part of his work, 'History of the last Period of the Reign of Frederic the Second, King of Prussia, 1778–1786.'

Dohm was a man of excellent education and of experience in public business. He entered the service of the Prussian king in 1779, was particularly distinguished by the minister Von Herzberg, enjoyed the confidence and esteem of Frederic, and repeatedly took part in the most important transactions. He continued to gain respect under the two succeeding kings of Prussia. He was one of the Prussian ambassadors at the

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Congress of Rastadt, and when that Congress was interrupted by war and the murder of two French envoys, he was selected by the whole diplomatic *corps* to draw up the account of these atrocities. The province, in which he was employed in 1806, having fallen into the hands of the French, he was commanded by his sovereign to remain at his post, that he might assist in alleviating the misfortunes of the vanquished. In the following years he was on diplomatic business at Warsaw, at Paris, and afterwards, as a permanent envoy from the king of Westphalia, at the court of Dresden. He obtained leave to retire in 1810, and, living on his estate at Pustleben in the county of Hohenstein, devoted himself to letters and his history. We must mention to his honor, that as early as 1781–3 he published a work of great merit, and in a tolerant spirit, on the improvement of the civil condition of the Jews.

The work, of which we are to give an account, is written with sober judgment and great accuracy. It has a peculiar and permanent value, as it is drawn directly from the best sources, which to most persons were unknown or inaccessible. Thus several treaties, never before published, have been brought to light from the Prussian archives; and on subjects of Russian politics the author had all the valuable aid, that could be gained from Count Görz, the eminent Prussian minister at Petersburg. For instance, the account given by Dohm of the origin of the armed neutrality was derived from him, and sufficiently substantiated by an appeal to written documents. We may add, that the work of Dohm is esteemed, by those of his countrymen most competent to judge in such a matter, for the candor displayed in it, for the trustworthy views it contains of many remarkable men and of important events, and for the clearness of its style. It was also acceptable to the Prussian court, a part of it being dedicated by permission to the present king. From the character of the contents of the work, containing many distinct accounts of perfidy and injustice on the part of the despotic rulers of the north of Europe, we think this circumstance is strong evidence in favor of the historical accuracy of these 'Memoirs.' It is an acknowledgement of their truth on the part of the only persons having any interest to disprove it. Dohm is especially careful in his search after authorities, and where he does not succeed in obtaining those that are perfectly satisfactory, omits to treat the topic.

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The materials for a more copious notice of Dohm's public services are contained in the Preface to the history. We pass them by, as they have nothing of general importance, and we have already, we trust, related enough to secure the reader's confidence in the good intentions of our historian, as well as in his means of information.

The 'Memoirs' are introduced (vol. I. pp. 3–22) with a general sketch of Frederic's eventful reign. Bred in the school of adversity, the character of Frederic had already been tried and influenced by affliction, before he began to rule. He found his kingdom in good condition, a treasure, which his father's parsimony had accumulated, and an army, which his father's love for fine soldiers had nourished, protected, and spared. In a few months, the Austrian emperor Charles the Sixth having died, the youthful Maria Theresa succeeded; and Frederic at once pounced upon the helpless empress, and profiting by her misfortunes and her weakness (not of mind, for her heart was pure and her will firm), he wrung from her Silesia and the county of Glatz. Having thus far succeeded, Frederic was content; he would be considered a conqueror from principle; he took what was deemed necessary for the security of his own kingdom, but formed no schemes of unlimited conquest. During this period Frederic conducted himself, not as the member of an empire, but as an independent monarch. He took no pains to get friends; he had confidence in himself. A minister at the German diet he deemed no better "than a mastiff baying the moon."

The seven years' war, from 1756 to 1763 forms the second period of Frederic's history. During this war he was forced, almost single-handed to bear up against Austria, France, Russia, and Sweden, which were united for his destruction. The peace of Hubertsberg made Frederic's glory, like his kingdom, safe against attacks. The magnanimity and energy, which he displayed during the war, inspired admiration; and new moral power was imparted to the nation he governed.

In the season of peace, which ensued, Frederic was actively and zealously engaged to heal the wounds of his kingdom. During the whole war he himself had contracted no debts; now in peace he remitted the taxes, laid open to his subjects new sources of gain, promoted industry, and in fact enabled Prussia to recover from its losses, before other governments had

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become aware of the extent of the sufferings of their subjects. During the war Peter the Third of Russia, immediately on his accession, had joined Frederic; and the strange sight had been seen of troops marching from a hostile camp to the quarters of those, who but the day before had been counted enemies. Now in peace, the Prussian king succeeded in establishing friendly relations with Catharine the Second. A repeated personal interview with the Austrian emperor Joseph the Second, in 1769 and 1770, promoted an approximation of their several interests; and the division of Poland was destined to cement their union by crime. The idea of this division did not, however, originate with Frederic. He entered into it readily and fully; but it was the Austrian Kaunitz, who first made an encroachment on the limits of the republic.

In the Appendix to this volume (pp. 433–514), there is a detailed and critical account of the negotiation, which led to the fatal result of the division of Poland. The materials for writing such an account did not exist in print till 1810, when they were published by Count von Görz (who was the Prussian ambassador at Petersburg shortly after the division), but they are neither well arranged, nor correctly printed. The collection has for its title, 'Mémoires et Actes Autentiques relatifs aux Négociations, qui ont précédées le Partage de la Pologne, tirés du Portefeuille d'un ancien Ministre du 18ème Siècle. 1810.' This volume, printed at Weimar, contains the letters and memoirs exchanged between the sovereigns, and the official reports of the ministers, employed in the negotiations. Our limits will not permit us to give a copious analysis of the facts, here collected; yet some we must adduce, to show our readers something of the nature of European diplomacy.

It will be remembered that in 1770 and the following years, Russia was at war with the Porte. Austria undertook to prevent the aggrandizement of Russia at the expense of Turkey. Frederic was bound by his alliance to preserve friendship with Russia, but at the same time discerned how adverse to his own interest would be the increase of Russia. The affair of Poland became entangled with this war in the East. On the sixth of July, 1771, the Austrian ambassador Von Thugut signed at Constantinople a secret convention with Turkey, by which Austria, taking advantage of the necessities of the Porte, made

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valuable acquisitions of money, land, and commercial privileges, and in consideration of these advantages, promised jointly with the Porte to compel Russia to return all the Turkish provinces she had conquered, and to secure the independence and freedom of the republic of Poland, which would then be a wall between Russia and the Porte. Kaunitz made it a condition, that this convention should be kept a secret, and for excellent reasons. All the while that in his negotiations with the Porte he was assuming such obligations of hostility to Russia, he was using towards that power the strongest assurances of friendship, and promised, with certain conditions, to use his influence to procure for Russia an advantageous peace. Meantime the convention was kept a secret for several months; and Austria received a very acceptable strip of land as well as a large sum of money, very welcome to an exhausted treasury.

In the middle of the year 1770 Austrian troops entered Poland, and under pretence of setting up pillars to mark the bounds of Hungary, assumed a large tract of the republic, and kept advancing further and further, all the time making assurances to the Polish king of a great love of justice. This was the beginning of the division of Poland. Occasion had also been seized by Frederic of causing his troops to enter certain other Polish districts. The government of Poland appealed to Catharine, believing the empress would at least reserve to herself the right of oppressing that country. These complaints were made to her in 1772, just at the time, when Prince Henry of Prussia was making the empress a visit, to induce her to accede to milder terms in her negotiations with Turkey. She communicated to him the intelligence she had received of the operations of Kaunitz, adding, 'that Poland seemed to be a country, where it was only necessary to stoop, to pick up what one would. If Austria chose to take a piece of that country, the neighbors had as good a right to do so too.' Prince Henry seized on the idea with eagerness, developed at once a plan for the division of Poland, and having gained the approbation of the empress, communicated the scheme to his brother. Frederic and Catharine were soon agreed.

And now it became the policy of Kaunitz, who began the business, to play the part of a coquette, and to make his partners in the robbery entreat him to join in the plunder. This he did, partly to avoid the odium of having started so disgrace-

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ful a scheme, and partly to quiet Maria Theresa's scruples of conscience. She afterwards gave an assurance, that Kaunitz had in this business been carried away by the force of circumstances to act contrary to his true character. The monarch may have been honest in this assertion; but if so, Kaunitz was an accomplished hypocrite.

Kaunitz first declared that the attempt at a division of Poland would lead to interminable perplexities. Frederic saw through him at once, and told the Russian court, that they might certainly count on Austria. Kaunitz next endeavored to get the first proposal to be made by Russia; and nothing having been communicated, he at last grew impatient, and in October of 1771 he determined to bring the Russian court to an explanation. For this purpose he assured the Russian ambassador, Prince Gallitzin, that the terms of peace with the Porte proposed by Catharine, though more moderated, were yet such as Austria could not support. He next suggested proposals, which he declared himself ready to advocate, but which he well knew the empress would reject. Yet, he added, Austria could offer no assistance, unless Russia would guaranty the integrity of Poland, and promise never to take any part of that country for itself or any other power. But though the indivisibility of Poland was an essential point, he continued, that he was nevertheless determined to reassume a piece of land, which had formerly belonged to Hungary, but had been mortgaged to Poland. The old constitution, he declared, was to be maintained, but it might still receive such modifications, as the interests of the neighboring countries required.

The drift of this declaration was well understood in St Petersburg. Count Panin commanded the Russian ambassador to reply, that it was a contradiction for Austria to maintain the integrity of Poland, and yet take a piece without the consent of the republic; that Russia and Prussia likewise had ancient claims to part of the territory of Poland; and that justice and the preservation of the balance of power required of Austria to consent, that the three courts should consult together respecting the nature and extent of their claims.

Immediately on receiving this communication in January, 1772, all the scruples of Kaunitz vanished as to the conditions of peace, which Russia had proposed. Only he gave the crafty counsel, that Catharine should first make much more

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severe requisitions than she designed to insist upon, to which Austria might earnestly object. Then by degrees the terms being made milder, as if by Austrian influence, both powers were to unite in pressing them upon the Porte. He begged to know, what part of Poland Russia and Prussia claimed, recommended the most intimate intercourse on the subject, and the most speedy termination of the negotiations. He also recommended profound secrecy in the transaction. Lastly, he added, that if they could not get precisely equal parts in Poland, there was a neighbor, who had too much land, and might be made to yield some of it. When Gallitzin, surprised by this last hint, said, there was no such neighbor, unless it were the Porte, Kaunitz said plainly, that it was the Porte he meant.

This plan for jointly plundering Turkey as well as Poland was made just six months after the convention which was mentioned above, and by which Austria had pledged herself to take part with the Porte, till all its possessions should be recovered. Of that convention the English, some how or other, had obtained a copy, and made haste to transmit it to Petersburg. It arrived there just at the time, when this new proposition of Kaunitz was received. Thus all confidence in Kaunitz was at an end; and the Russian ambassador at Vienna was charged to watch his motions with the most jealous mistrust and to repose no faith in his word. It soon became plain that it was the design of Kaunitz to enlarge Austria, if he could, as well by taking from Turkey as from Poland. Meantime the negotiations were continued, and on the fifth of August, 1772, the final agreement was signed at Petersburg by the ministers of the three powers. The king of Poland declared, he would sooner cut off his right hand, than sign the act of cession; but he did sign it, and his hand remained whole. The three powers guarantied to each other their respective new possessions, and added a stipulation, that however their interest might otherwise divide them, they would at all times and under all circumstances make a common cause of the defence of their acquisitions.

The fourth and last period of Frederic's reign was distinguished by deeds of public virtue, which had a wide and most salutary influence on the condition of Germany. He labored assiduously and with entire success for the independence of

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the several sovereignties of the empire. At the head of the Austrian state there now stood an ambitious prince, emulous of the distinction which Frederic had acquired, and threatening the liberties of the neighboring states.

The whole course of the contest respecting the Bavarian succession is related by Dohm with great distinctness and a thorough knowledge of all the men concerned in it, and all the interests that were at issue. To follow him in his narration is not permitted us. We refer the student of history to the work itself, undoubtedly a leading authority for this whole subject, to which we are able to devote but a small space.

The great points of the controversy are well known. In 1777 Maximilian Joseph, Elector of Bavaria, died through the want of skill of a physician. He left no children, and with him his branch of a princely family ended. According to the feudal law the other branch of the family, which still flourished in the Palatinate, was entitled to the inheritance. The next heir was Charles Theodore, a man of vile character, and likewise without legitimate children. The Austrian emperor deemed this a fit occasion to possess himself of Bavaria, and immediately caused his troops to enter the territory. Charles Theodore was abject enough to agree to the Austrian demands; and Joseph the Second imagined himself secure of gaining quiet possession of what Austria had long coveted. The heir of Charles Theodore was Charles, duke of Deux Ponts; his assent to the encroachments of Austria seemed now alone necessary, and every thing was done to win him.

In this state of things Frederic interposed, by a series of admirably conducted negotiations, in which Count Görz laid the foundation of his fame as a statesman; he animated the duke of Deux Ponts to decided opposition, and took upon himself the guaranty of the rights of the duke to the Bavarian succession, against all unjust claims of the court of Vienna.

Frederic was now justified in making representations to the Austrian government. That government was at this epoch directed by Wenzel Anton, Prince of Kaunitz-Rittberg. He was a statesman of great understanding and extensive experience in public business, a friend and patron of science and the arts.* It was he, who devised the union between France

* Dohm, Vol. I. pp. 72–76.

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and Austria, by which in 1756 a new political system was established on the continent of Europe. Afterwards he also began the division of Poland. He was bold in designing, and crafty in executing. He could veil his plans in impenetrable secrecy; and was a master in the arts of hypocrisy. Superior to base selfishness, he honored and rewarded talents and merit, where he was not himself in danger of being eclipsed. His good opinion of his own capacity was unlimited. His great object was, to make the state in which he was employed the first in Europe, and to be himself the first man in that state. Whatever promoted these views was acceptable to him; he troubled himself little about justice. His manners were marked by haughty condescension and sometimes by striking irregularities; all which served to elevate him in the minds of the many. Maria Theresa had unlimited confidence in his sagacity, and her son and associate in the empire never dared to oppose the man, who had gained the name of being the greatest statesman of Europe.

The Prussian ministers at this time were Herzberg and Finbrenstein. The latter was a man of experience and great respectability. The former was deeply versed in the relations and rights of the several European states; and those of Prussia he knew in the most minute detail. His knowledge was always at his command. His mind was lively and active; his style of writing clear, simple, and convincing; his activity and industry boundless; his sentiments noble. Love of country was a passion with him; and he counted much on the moral powers of mankind, of which he loved to dwell on the proofs afforded by history. On the other hand he was often deficient in prudence and secrecy; and sometimes incurred the displeasure of Frederic, by pressing views which the king did not approve.

Frederic was himself the immediate agent in public affairs. Having resolved on his course and taken the necessary measures without consulting any one, he then committed to his ministers, especially to Herzberg, the task of conducting the negotiations with Vienna. The claims made by Austria were subjected to long and learned investigations, and their injustice copiously exposed. Attempts were made to bribe Frederic not to interfere, by promising to permit him to increase his dominions in some similar way; but the Prussian king was not to be moved from his purpose.

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Of the war which ensued, the renewed negotiations for peace, the continued hostilities, and the final restoration of peace, an account is given in the first volume (pp. 137–250).

The empress Maria Theresa, anxious for the life of her children, and from every principle and feeling averse to war, sent a special message to Frederic, expressing her earnest desire to come to a mutual understanding. 'She hoped,' such was her message, 'that it grieved the king not less than herself, that they should thus pluck out each other's hair, which age had already whitened.' Still reconciliation was not easy, for the only terms which Austria proposed were such as Frederic peremptorily rejected.

Meantime France and Russia were led to take an interest in the event of the war. France was the ally of Austria, but yet in secret averse to the increase of that power. Russia had been prevented by the war with the Porte, from taking an active part in the Bavarian affairs. Finally the peace of Kainardgi was concluded; and Catharine the Second was at liberty to interfere. She immediately did so, and with good effect. 'So wonderfully are the destinies of nations, even in the remotest lands, interwoven; whether Bohemia and Moravia, Saxony or Silesia should be devastated by war, depended on a negotiation, which was conducted between Petersburg and Constantinople. It was necessary, that the recognition of a Tartar Chan by the Porte should precede the preservation of the patrimony of a German princely house.' Austria, however, retained by the peace a part of the land it had claimed. The whole extent, at first taken possession of, amounted to about five thousand square miles; Austria retained about eight hundred; and Maria Theresa could hardly forgive the king of Prussia, *ce méchant homme*, as she called him, for wresting from her the remainder.

Frederic thus secured to himself the applause of Europe and the gratitude of Germany. He returned to the careful administration of his kingdom,* and, as though he had done nothing for fame, began extensive reforms; and, as the greatest and best of his efforts, caused a code to be prepared, by which equal justice should be administered in all parts of his dominions, and the interests of separate districts reconciled and assimilated. The work was one of immense labor and equal benefit.

* Dohm, Vol. I. pp. 251—294.

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The Russian empress was gratified at seeing Austria somewhat humbled, and checked in its attempts at aggrandizement. She was also pleased at having acquired a right to interfere in the concerns of Germany; a right which Peter the Great had designed to gain. For Catharine had become a guarantee of the new peace of Teschen; and one of the articles of that peace confirmed that of Westphalia. Of this last, therefore, and consequently of the German constitution, Catharine became a guarantee.

Catharine the Second had a lively mind, and a strong desire to distinguish herself by extraordinary deeds; and her mother gave to this ambition a political direction.* When Grand Princess, she found little satisfaction in intercourse with her husband, and was very much restrained by the empress Elizabeth. In the solitude to which she was thus driven she cultivated her mind; ancient and modern history, and the best works of the English and French on politics, were her favorite subjects of study. She busied herself with vast ideas, and loved the extraordinary and romantic. In a memoir, written by Count Görz, the Prussian envoy at St Petersburg, she is described as one, who united amiable qualities with greatness, and, superior to her sex in other respects, yet preserved its weakness in being fond of praise and flattery. Fortune had heaped upon her its choicest favors; for eighteen years she had been the sovereign of the vastest empire; beside the flatterers that surrounded her at home, she had been caressed and flattered by all foreign courts; and circumstances having assigned her so brilliant a part, it was impossible to say anything to her in the way of admiration too extravagant or too pointed. She possessed in the greatest degree the art of dissimulation; and no one could tell, what impression was actually made upon her mind. She was, moreover, extremely jealous of her son, and quite as much so of the Grand Princess.

Count Panin (we draw the characteristics from the memoir of Görz) was one of the first statesmen of Russia, and peculiarly worthy of attention to a Prussian prince, as he had steadfastly upheld the alliance between Catharine and Frederic. He was kind, generous, *débonnaire;* fond of pleasures, especially of horses and the theatre; he was conscious of possessing great knowledge on the different relations of the Euro-

* Id. Vol. II. pp. 7, 8; and xxvi—xxvii.

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pean political system, was communicative, and met with cheerfulness all attempts to gain his acquaintance. He hated Prince Potemkin, could not brook those who courted that favorite, and on this point was even suspicious.

Prince Potemkin was undoubtedly the most powerful man in Russia. He had genius and talents, but was little suited to conciliate either love or esteem. The Grand Duke, the Count Panin, and other noblemen of the empire detested him. He was proud of his regiment, which he esteemed the finest in the universe; and prided himself on his skill in regulating cavalry. Another subject to which he gave much attention, was the ceremonies of the Greek church; which he was fond of rendering peculiarly brilliant.* In the long series of personal favorites of the empress, he alone retained unlimited influence over her till the period of his death. He first offered himself to her attention in the time of the revolution in 1762, and having once made himself observed by the boldness of his deportment and his person, he used every art to excite an interest in her. Being once admitted to the immediate circle of her society, he employed all the resources of a courtier to overthrow his rivals, especially the Orlows. He was the avowed favorite from 1776, and confirmed his power over Catharine by withdrawing himself from time to time, and then returning again as it pleased his humor. By persuading Catharine that his services were indispensable to her security, rather than by the influence of attachment, he gained entire sway over the empress and the state. For Catharine knew very well that her authority, which had been founded on crimes, was impatiently borne by a great part of her subjects, and she deemed it therefore necessary to have at her side a man of fearful energy, capable of inspiring terror, and destroying every thought of opposition. Such a man she believed she had found in Potemkin, and to establish her own safety through him, she conferred on him unlimited command. The use which he made of it may have caused the empress herself at times to tremble. Singular qualities he must certainly have possessed, to maintain this power for sixteen years against all adversaries and rivals till his death, and he must have been favored by singular circumstances; but un-

* Dohm, Vol. I. pp. 404—414, and pp. 585—590. Vol. II. pp. xxvi, xxvii, and xlv,—xlvii.

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blushing impudence on his part secured this influence over the feminine weakness of Catharine.

Potemkin had no distinguished talents as a commander; yet the whole army was under his control; and all the generals of greatest experience and fame were subject to his caprice. He understood but imperfectly the foreign relations of the empire or the wants of the interior; and yet it was he, who dictated to the vanity of the empress the measures to be adopted within her immense empire or towards foreign powers. He had no elevated ambition of any kind; it never occurred to him, that he could do good to mankind by wisely guiding the destiny of that large portion that depended on him. He knew of nothing nobler than the honors that dazzle the beholder; his whole soul was in the gratification of his vanity, and this he would sometimes do by pretending indifference. He would deny himself nothing; he would gratify all his whims; and he would have it known that he could do so. This was to him the great purpose of life. He disregarded all distinctions of birth, or rank, or wealth, and was always bent on showing that he was the only powerful man. Frederic the Second once directed his ambassador to offer Potemkin his influence in gaining for him the crown of Poland; Potemkin replied, that he had never dreamed of such a thing; and did not respect the Polish nation enough to be willing to be their king. He treated the most distinguished foreigners with contumely, and listened to the proposals of foreign ambassadors with the contemptuous air of one who but just condescends to hear the requests of his inferiors and dependents. No rank secured the native Russians from insult; it is even asserted that he went so far as to beat the empress. It is certain, that he often opposed her loudly, and did on purpose the very opposite of what she had desired. Sated with pleasure, he lavished the public treasure with boundless prodigality in the gratification of his caprices. Though Catharine anticipated all his wants, that could be divined, and gave him incredibly large sums of money, he would yet turn to the gratification of his will money entrusted to him for public purposes, and would even forge orders of the empress on the treasury, to get possession of money, and this when he knew it to be peculiarly needed by the state. And Catharine bore all this. Potemkin took bribes from foreign states to promote their objects; though his views were so contracted, that he could not judge

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of the true interests of the empire. Possessed of immense treasures, which he carelessly squandered at the gaming-table or for any fancy, he was accustomed never to pay those, who furnished him with the necessaries of life. Merchants held themselves ruined, when an order came to supply the wants of Potemkin. He had no sentiment of mercy in his nature. He would torment without any object, as if to show that he could do it with impunity.

He had long and earnestly desired the Prussian order of the Black Eagle, but as it was sent him rather later than he expected, he received it with a disdainful air, saying, 'he was much obliged to the king, but really, he already had such a host of that sort of distinctions, he did not know how he should be able to arrange them all.' When Frederic learnt, that Potemkin was aiming at the dukedom of Courland, he offered to assist him; but Potemkin very coolly replied, that Courland was not enough to satisfy him; and, besides, if he wanted it, he could take it himself, without giving the king any trouble about it. And he used on all occasions to set in the most ridiculous light Frederic's strict economy and simple mode of living.

A story is told, and on the very best authority, that Potemkin formally proposed to Frederic a second division of Poland, saying 'the first division was mere child's play; the whole should have been divided at once; it would not have caused greater clamor.' Frederic rejected the scheme, on the ground of its injustice, and adopted in his order in cabinet the opinion drawn up by Görz, and developing the subject in a moral point of view. To Potemkin the answer of Frederic was wholly unexpected; he read the king's letter three several times and then gave it back to the Prussian minister with the words, 'I never should have believed, that King Frederic had such romantic notions.'

He cared as little for human life as for money, if the waste of it pleased his capricious humor. Catharine wished to honor him after the manner of antiquity, and in 1787 gave him the appellation of *the Taurian*. In Russian affairs he did whatever he pleased. If things of moment were sometimes decided without him, it was because he did not take the trouble to interfere, and was willing to let them go. The single affair of the armed neutrality, of which an account follows, was decided contrary to his intentions. But the reason was, the de-

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cision depended on political knowledge, of which Potemkin had little, and which Panin possessed abundantly, and knew how to use with skill.

Potemkin has been called a man of colossal greatness. But he was in no wise great. His mind was low and coarse. He began his career of success like the other favorites, chance having made him known to the empress; and he confirmed his power by an excess of impudence, and an entire insensibility to moral feeling and to honor. He cared neither for exercising a wide influence over the destinies of men, nor for gaining an immortality of fame; but wished to live in the midst of external splendor, have all men near him at his feet, and prove himself to be the man who needed to fear nothing.

The success of her first war with the Porte filled Catharine with an exalted idea of her own merits and the resources of her empire. The deference and respect, manifested by other courts to her as a woman, were interpreted by her as acknowledgments of her superior power; and she would perhaps have practised no restraint towards others but for the fear of being checked in the execution of her great design. That design, by which she expected to render her reign eminently illustrious, and establish an immortality of glory for her own name, was the establishing of a Greek or Oriental empire. During her life it was her intention herself to govern this new empire, together with her monstrous possessions in the North, and then to bequeath the latter to her grandson Alexander, and the former to Constantine. The names of the children were tokens of the high destiny that was preparing for them. Constantine, from his birth, was treated as the future emperor of Greece and the East. He was baptized according to the rites of the Oriental Greek Church, which differ somewhat from the Russian, and he had Grecian nurses and attendants from the Archipelago. Accident prevented his being nursed with Grecian milk, but Grecian sounds were the first which he heard. He was called *the Star of the East*, and while yet a child, Greeks were admitted to his presence to do him homage.

The glorious peace of Kudschutz-Kainardgi was negotiated just sixty-three years after the disgraceful one, which Peter the First had made to save himself from ruin. This seemed a good omen. Moreover, the religious, warlike enthusiasm of the Ottomans seemed to be extinct. The rulers were educated within the seraglio to indulgence, not to the labors of govern-

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ing. The sultans were dependent on their ministers of state; and these, again, elevated from the very dregs of the populace, and destitute of all political knowledge, owed their security to the Janizaries. In the provinces the regents were almost independent; and little of the money, which they collected, flowed into the public treasury. The numerous Greeks hated the Turkish government and were ripe for insurrection. And while the Turkish empire was gradually sinking, the neighboring European powers were continually advancing in the arts of civil polity and of war.

These views were represented to Catharine in their strongest light. Yet there were facts, which proved them to be exaggerated. If the internal administration of Turkey was so bad, how could the empire continue to exist and array such formidable armies against its enemies? If the pachas were almost entirely free, and if little of their revenues found its way to the Grand Seignior, where were the immense sums obtained to defray the cost of the naval battles and the land service? If despotic caprice controlled property, how came it that agriculture, mechanic arts, and manufactures throve in Turkey, and produced what formed the chief articles of an important commerce, which European nations were emulous of sharing? And can it be conceived, that these nations would continue trade with a country, in which the disregard of justice took away all security from the capital employed in business? The condition of the ministers of state is the least comfortable; their misfortunes are held up in a strong light; but a private man can even in Turkey enjoy the fruit of his labors, and suffer less oppression than in many an European state. The natives are strongly attached to their country, which they call the land of freedom; and if business leads them to pass even years in foreign lands, they are accustomed to return as soon as possible to the land of their birth. It has even been asserted by the head of a large commercial house, which carried on much business with the Levant and with Russia, that debts due in the former were esteemed incomparably more secure than those in the latter, not only from greater confidence reposed in individuals, but also because the Turkish administration was more impartial and more prompt. To this it must be added, that the writers on the subject always advise the Europeans to endeavor to vanquish the Turks by superiority in tactics, and to avoid the contest between man

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and man, as one, in which the European soldier is sure to be worsted. The points,* to which we have here alluded will serve to explain the partial success of the Russians in their attempts to banish the Turks from Europe.

It was the fieldmarshal Münich, who, more than any other, cherished in the mind of Catharine the design of subverting the Turkish empire. This celebrated general, called by Frederic the Second, the Eugene of the North, was in the Russian service even as early as under Peter the First; and during the reign of Anna he was the terror of the Ottomans. He lost his influence under Elizabeth and for twenty years was banished to Siberia. Yet there his mind was brooding over great designs in his exile, and prepared a scheme for the entire ruin of the Turkish power. In 1762 he was recalled by Peter the Third, and now, an old man of seventy-nine years, he reappeared at a court, from which nearly all his contemporaries had passed away, with the fire and ambition of vigorous manhood. Catharine employed him for the very purposes, which he promoted under Peter the Great; and he pursued them with restless activity. The empress was so charmed with his conversation and reposed such confidence in his experienced counsel, that she usually passed an hour every day with him. It was now that he unfolded his plan, which, but for Austria's ill success and the disastrous peace of Belgrade, would have been executed under Anna, and which was now to lend lustre to the administration of Catharine.

The thought took deep root in the mind of the empress, and was confirmed by the success of her generals in the first war with Turkey. Full of hope, she no longer concealed her ideas. She would playfully speak of the ancient Greek tragedies, which were to be enacted anew on the stage of Athens by Grecian players; and medals were designed, if not executed, on the taking of Constantinople. All Europe applauded her for her design. No one asked if it was just, or if Russian despotism was less oppressive than the Turkish. Religious sympathy was awakened; a hostile feeling to a foreign race revived; the thought of the restoration of Greece captivated the imagination, and it seemed the more splendid and pleasing, that the beautiful design was to be executed by a woman. The 'tocsin of the kings' was sounded by Voltaire;

* Dohm. Vol. II. pp. 365-381.

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and he advocated the war of extermination of the Turks, sometimes with fanatical fervor, sometimes with jests and gallantry. 'Barbarians,' said he, 'who despise the fine arts and shut up the women, deserve to be exterminated; and it is meet for a heroine to chastise them for their contempt of the fair.' 'I really think,' wrote Catharine to Voltaire, 'I must soon go to some university to study Greek.'

But if the many applauded, the cabinets opposed. England, though otherwise friendly to Russia, could not favor the banishment of the Turks from Europe; and the union of the Russian and Austrian cabinets aroused the attention of France. For France was interested in maintaining the Porte, because it could furnish so much occupation to powers hostile to France; and still more, for the immense injury, which the French commerce would sustain by the ruin of Turkey. Is there another example in all history of commercial advantages conceded, such as were secured to France by the Porte? Into all the Turkish possessions the French might import and export every kind of raw or manufactured product, paying a duty nominally of three, actually of two and a half per cent. Not only other nations, the Turks themselves paid a double, and on some things, a threefold greater duty. The coasting trade on the Turkish coasts was carried on in French ships, free from any duty or tax whatever. The French residing in Turkey, stood under the sole jurisdiction of their own state. The commerce with France was constantly on the increase. At the beginning of the eighteenth century the exports from Turkey to France amounted to about two millions of livres; but in the middle of that century to twenty-two millions; and in the year 1786 they amounted to thirty-eight millions eight hundred thousand livres. Through the influence of France Spain entered into a commercial treaty with the Porte, and promised, it is said, to permit no vessels hostile to the same to pass through the Straits of Gibraltar; and France was even preparing to break its alliance with Austria, and renew its relations of intimacy with Prussia.

The diplomatic relations of the European powers were at this time exceedingly curious. Prussia had an intimate alliance with Russia, and having faithfully fulfilled its obligations in the first war between Russia and Turkey, believed itself now fairly entitled to a reciprocity of favor, and was reluctant to relinquish its claim to this. The disastrous union between

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Austria and France still continued. And now the doctrine of elective affinities, with a slight modification, was to prove itself good in politics. A new ingredient is added in the Porte. Forthwith Austria unfolds itself from the embrace of France, and falls into the toils of Russia; France, left thus alone, endeavors to form a new combination with Prussia, which must first set itself free from its Northern ally. The difficulties, which stood in the way of this last combination, we shall endeavor concisely to explain.

The principal aim of France was, to defeat the schemes of aggrandizement formed by Russia and Austria; the principal aim of Frederic, to dissolve the union between France and Austria. France wished to retain its union with Austria, but to prevent its aggrandizement; and *for that purpose* was willing to act jointly with Prussia in a protest addressed to the court of Vienna. Frederic sincerely desired a union with France, his natural ally, with whom he believed himself really to have common interests; but he was too cautious to trust himself in an alliance, before France should have had a rupture with Austria. He was unwilling, that an *apparent* union between his kingdom and France should be made use of in negotiations with the imperial courts; since he would in that way lose the benefit of his alliance with Russia, and gain nothing. He had no fear that the empress and the emperor would succeed against Turkey; partly because he believed a vigorous nation like the Turks would make themselves formidable by the resistance of despair; partly because he knew the incapacity of the Russian military commanders; and, most of all, because he counted on mutual jealousy, which, in case of partial success, would soon beget a quarrel about the distribution of the spoil, and so take it all out of their hands. Indeed the Prussian king was, on the whole, pleased, that the imperial courts, since they would have war, should turn their attention to the East.

Meantime Frederic used every means to avoid appearing to counteract the schemes of Catharine. But alas for the chances of diplomacy! He commanded his chargé d' affaires at Constantinople, Baron von Gaffron, to be exceedingly circumspect, but not to lose a good opportunity of stirring up the Porte to resist the ceding of the Crimea to Russia, provided he could do so without danger of being discovered. Accordingly the envoy indited a *mémoire* for the most private edification of the Turkish minis-

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ter, and gave it to his drogoman to translate and deliver. The drogoman, being bribed, gave the *mémoire* to the Russian ambassador, who soon announced the affair at St Petersburg. Catharine, without communicating the particular circumstances, remonstrated with her faithful ally Frederic, that his chargé d' affaires had been acting against her interests. Frederic disclaimed all participation in the business, recalled Von Gaffron, investigated the matter, and found nothing, that he thought could be known to Catharine to justify her complaints. Still she insisted upon them, and Frederic, to show at least his own innocence, turned Von Gaffron out of office, and put him in prison. Such are the rewards of European diplomacy. Its morality resembles the Spartan principle about stealing. To play a double part is honorable and the patriotic discharge of duty; but to be discovered is a crime and a disgrace.

While negotiations were conducted with careful reserve between the Prussian and French governments, the courts of Vienna and Petersburg were not less active, and hardly more successful. To Catharine the expulsion of the Turks was the great purpose; to Joseph the Second it was a secondary consideration, to be made subservient to his views on Bavaria and elsewhere in the West. He acceded to the Russian policy to oblige the empress, that so the empress might in turn favor him. He did not believe success against the Turks so sure or easy as was imagined; and acknowledged also, that the Austrian interest would suffer from the capture of Constantinople by his northern rival. The nearer the two imperial courts came to the execution of their schemes, the greater difficulties rose between them. Potemkin meant Moldavia and Wallachia for himself; and so mighty were Potemkin's whims, that Joseph did not dare to utter a wish for their possession. Moreover Catharine deemed it enough to restore to Austria the provinces which it had lost in the peace of Belgrade; the idea of an Eastern empire was her own; the affair of getting possession of Turkey was her speculation, and in that business she wanted no partners. Thus kind words and promises of friendship were frequent; and beneath all mistrust was nourished.

The news of the alliance between Austria and Russia in 1783 produced extraordinary effects. The Porte was alarmed, and Catharine joyfully, and with really wonderful art, turned the fear of he Turks to her advantage in negotiations. For all that she could thus gain was her own; her treaties with the

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Porte were not Austria's affair; that power had nothing to do with her private concerns. And thus without striking a blow, and without giving Austria a chance at any advantage whatever, she constantly turned to her own account all the benefit, which could be derived from the menace of a joint invasion.

And the chief advantage she thus gained was the possession of the Crimea. The convention of March 10, 1779, confirmed in the most solemn manner the independence of this sovereign state. No foreign power should under any circumstances whatever demand of it an account of its actions; Russia and the Porte, each promised, by all that they acknowledged as holy, never, under any pretence, to interfere in its concerns. The spiritual supremacy of the Grand Seignior was recognised, but was never to extend to other relations. Should either party by any unforeseen accident become entangled in the concerns of the Tartars, it was agreed, that no step should be taken by it, without consulting the other.

Notwithstanding these obligations, Catharine took part in the troubles, which soon broke out in the Crimea. The new Chan, Schahin Gheray, was devoted to the Russian empress, and trusting in her protection, imposed new burdens, violated established usages, and pretended to be greatly enamored of European culture. To diffuse this in all its lustre, (shall we be believed as we write?) he formed the resolution of having the large French Encyclopedia translated into the Tartar language. His authority did not last long enough to execute his purpose; and when Catharine was mistress of the destiny of the Tartars, in a better spirit of toleration, she had a beautiful edition of the Koran printed for the benefit of her Mahomedan subjects.

The Tartars revolted; and refusing to continue their allegiance to Schahin Gheray, substituted Dewlet Gheray in his stead. The Russians had not yet withdrawn their troops; the Turks, therefore, felt themselves justified in sending troops to Taman, to relieve those who were suffering for their religious faith. This served Russia as a pretext for hostilities; and Prince Potemkin undertook the guidance of affairs. Blood and booty were the watchwords. Thousands of families were destroyed, or carried away into bondage in remote Russian provinces; till finally the Chan and some of the royal tribe declared, 'that, convinced that happiness could be found only under the mild government of the empress, they submitted

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themselves and their nation unconditionally and for ever to her authority.' On the eighth of April, 1783, the empress issued her manifesto, that for sundry reasons therein given, 'she had been induced to receive under her authority the peninsula of the Crimea, Kuban, and the island Taman. Her new subjects were exhorted to fidelity and obedience.' The oath of allegiance to the empress was administered; every refusal was punished with death. Thirty thousand were slaughtered at one time; and thus the opposition was soon done away. The Chan, who had betrayed his nation, received for three or at most for four years the payment of the pension, that had been promised him. When that ceased to be paid, he fled to Turkey, and was executed in the island of Rhodes.

As if nothing had happened, Catharine directly proposed a treaty of commerce and amity with Turkey; the members of the Turkish ministry were terrified or bribed, and a treaty was actually closed in June of the same year, of which treaty the conditions were in an unequal degree favorable to Russia. Hardly had this been effected, when she proceeded still further, and demanded of the Porte a recognition of her sovereignty over the Crimea; threatening war, and Austria joining her in the threat, if she received a refusal. The Porte yielded, and the river Kuban became the acknowledged boundary between the Turkish and Russian empires.

Thus Russia tore from the Porte a province, important as an outpost, but still more so as the granary of Constantinople, and as a resource in war, capable of furnishing excellent soldiers. This province was now of vast importance to Russia, for it afforded the means of conducting the most extensive commerce. Catharine and Potemkin both valued it chiefly as the preparation for further conquest. At the mouth of the Dneiper the empress caused a new city, Cherson, to be built, and over one of its gates the inscription was placed in the Greek tongue, 'This is the way to Constantinople.' The new conquests received their ancient name, the Tauric Chersonesus, and Potemkin, who had now obtained the appellation of *the Taurian*, assumed the charge of changing the Tartars into good Russian subjects. In the execution of his office he knew no purpose beyond gratifying his own rapacity and the vanity of the empress. Constitution, manners, and established customs were despised; justice was made a matter of purchase; the wealthy were plundered; many fled; many were driven into

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other Russian provinces; and foreigners were indiscriminately invited from all quarters. In former times the Tartar Chan had joined the Turkish army with fifty thousand well equipped horsemen; and now, two years after the land had become an integral part of the Russian empire, the census of all the male inhabitants is said to have amounted to but seventeen thousand.

Thus far we have followed Dohm. Before leaving this subject, we cannot but call to mind the remarkable journey, which four years after, in 1787, Catharine made to this part of her dominions, and which resembled a continued triumphal procession. Potemkin wished to exhibit proofs of the rapid prosperity of the Chersonesus, and the newly acquired provinces. Palaces were, therefore, erected to be occupied but for a night; signs of apparent prosperity and contentment were everywhere hung out for show; towns were built and people assembled to play the part of inhabitants; then the houses were left vacant, and the same people, having been carried forward by night, showed themselves on the next day, ready to act the same thing over on another spot. Music and dances were the order of the day; the plains, over which the Tartars had so recently sped their coursers amidst the loneliness of rude nature and countries occupied by Nomades alone, now resounded with strange notes of revelry, and glittered with all the splendors of imperial magnificence. The deputies of a hundred subject nations stayed the steps of the triumphant conqueror, the new Semiramis, who was come to receive their homage. The king of Poland, too, made his appearance to gaze at the novel spectacle; and Joseph the Second came all the way from his empire to see the show, and, remaining several days with the empress, the newly built city, Cherson, became gay and brilliant beyond imagination with the splendid *fêtes*, which were given in honor of his arrival. Never had the banks of the Borysthenes been made the scene of such a series of festivals. And here in the solitary city of the desert, intoxicated with triumph, viewing with contempt the withered energies of the Porte, and holding out greedy hands to seize on new diadems, the German emperor and the Russian czarina, perfected their scheme for the dissolution of the Turkish empire, and divided in anticipation their future conquests. This was in 1787. Suppose a prophet had appeared in the midst of their dazzling dreams and magnificent banquets, and

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opened to them a glimpse of the coming age. He could have shown them how destiny would laugh their plans to scorn, and mark out a widely different fate for the countries, whose fortunes were the object of their deliberations. He could have shown them the imperial pride of Vienna humbled at the feet of a conqueror, and the crown of Germany cast aside among forgotten diadems; the lands of Austria diminished, and such as were left to her held, as it were, at the mercy of others; he could have shown them the palaces of Petersburg filled with terror, the Russian emperor disgraced by frequent defeats and injurious treaties, and finally, after years of anxiety, safety purchased only by sacrificing the ancient metropolis in the very heart of the country to the flames; while the empire, which their cupidity already declared their own, was, excepting for a short period in a remote province, safe from the terrors of war, and preserved its territory undiminished and its honor unimpaired, elevated in fearless security above the wrecks and ruins of the shattered system of Europe.

The interest belonging to the history of Russia, during the period when she assumed the rank of the first power of Europe, has induced us to give more attention to this period of Russian history. We return from considering the progress of Russian arms in the South and East, to give some details on a topic,* which is of immediate interest to the United States.

England entered upon the war with her colonies without allies. She demanded the assistance of Holland in pursuance of existing treaties. But assistance was refused on the ground that the case to which those treaties were applicable did not yet exist. From no nation could England hope more than from Prussia. It was known that Catharine the Second cherished a predilection for the English nation, and was decidedly averse to France. All insurrections of subjects against their rulers, were by her opposed from principle, and the suppression of them seemed the common cause of rulers. Hence the hope was conceived on the part of the English, that a treaty of alliance might be closed with her, binding her in the event to render them assistance. This subject was entrusted to Sir James Harris, afterwards Lord Malmesbury, the British minister at St Petersburg, a diplomatist of extensive information and great activity. Panin, the chancellor of the Russian empire,

* Dohm. Vol. II. pp. 100–150.

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knew the state of the country too well, its finances exhausted by the war with the Porte, to admit of participating in a dispute carried on in another hemisphere, perhaps to be followed by entangling connexions, and an injury to Russian commerce. Catharine herself was also disinclined to relinquish the free and independent station in which she found herself.

Harris, seeing little prospect of gaining his point in a direct way, endeavored to succeed by the influence of Potemkin, whom no means were spared to gain. An ambassador of a court concerned in the result, once observed to Count Panin, that he feared Potemkin was in the interests of England, as he had received of England fifty thousand rubles. Panin answered, smiling, 'Potemkin is not a man to be bought for so small a sum.' And in fact, on inquiry, it proved that he had had not so many rubles, but pounds sterling. By means of Potemkin, Harris proposed to Catharine directly an alliance with England for the reduction of the English colonies, promising in return the assistance of England in any further plans of Russia to subdue the Porte. But it belonged to the chancellor of the empire, from his office, to make an estimate of the tendency of such a proposition, and frame the proper answer to it. Drawing his arguments from the true interests of the Russian state, he demonstrated so clearly, that it was against the welfare of Russia to form such an alliance with England, that the empress was convinced, and the answer given, 'that while the most friendly dispositions were entertained towards England, the present time, when this power was engaged in war with several powers, was not a proper one for forming an alliance; Russia desired the restoration of peace; her threat of taking part in the war would but serve to extend and protract it.' Harris was in consternation at this answer; but he received in private from Potemkin, and it is said by some, from the empress herself, assurances of unchanged good will, and an expression of the hope that circumstances would soon admit of her conforming her actions to her wishes.

Accident seemed to favor the designs of the English ambassador. Two Russian vessels, laden with corn, and bound to the Mediterranean, were captured by Spanish privateers, under the pretence that they were intended to supply the fortress of Gibraltar. The empress was indignant; was bent on obtaining singular satisfaction, or, if refused, on avenging herself on Spain by declaring war, and so uniting with England.

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These views she communicated to Count Panin; but without consulting him, ordered a fleet to be fitted out at Cronstadt, which, in the event of an unsatisfactory answer from Spain, was to join the English. The English envoy was informed of it, and made haste to communicate the good news to his court. Potemkin triumphed in his imagined advantage, gained over the chancellor.

The fitting out of the fleet did not long remain concealed from Panin, nor was he in doubt as to its destination. But he determined nevertheless to carry his own views into effect. Far from appearing to oppose the designs of the empress, he declared, that he himself participated in her indignation at Spain, and approved her determination to require satisfaction for the injury done to the free commerce of her subjects and her insulted majesty. Nay, he would go further; he would even exhort his sovereign to seize this opportunity of solemnly announcing to Europe, that the empress of Russia would in nowise suffer the wars waged between other powers to affect the trade of her subjects. She would promise strict justice on her part and neutrality to all, but would consider any one as an enemy, who should invade the commerce of her subjects while conducted within the limits of justice.

Principles so manifestly equitable, added Panin, will meet with universal approbation. The nations had long desired to see them adopted and maintained; but had desired thus far in vain, as till now no monarch had been possessed at once of sufficient power, and wisdom, and philanthropy to carry them into execution. But these were now united in Catharine, and she had an opportunity of acquiring a new fame, of becoming a lawgiver for the high seas, and so affording property a security, and trade a freedom, such as they never had possessed. Nations would admire her for the mild energy, with which she set bounds to the horrors of war, and future generations acknowledge her as their benefactor.

Catharine was completely carried away by these representations. She laid her commands on Panin to prepare a statement of the principles he had developed, to be communicated to the belligerent powers, as the rules prescribed for her subjects; at the same time to call on all neutral states to adopt them, and to carry them into effect with their united force.

And this was the origin of the famous armed neutrality, which established as a principle, that neutral ships may freely

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navigate from port to port on the coasts of belligerents; that free ships make free goods, excepting contraband articles; that nothing is contraband but arms and military stores; that no harbor can be considered as under blockade unless that harbor is in fact so effectually blockaded, that no vessel can safely enter it.

Thus a system, destined to become so conspicuous in the history of the world, and involving principles of such vast importance in the concerns of commerce, owed its origin to no enlarged conceptions of the maritime rights of nations, and to no wisdom having regard for the general interest and welfare of mankind; but was the result of the cunning of a statesman, who contrived to give this direction to the vanity of his sovereign, and thus to extricate himself from the embarrassment in which he would otherwise have been placed. Thus, when the mysteries of diplomacy are explained, we find the greatest concerns of public life depending on the irritated pride of an individual.

The greatness of the idea which Panin proposed to the empress, consisted in providing a few distinct and clearly expressed rules for regulating the difficulties, which from time to time had arisen in conducting commerce in seasons of war; and in uniting all nations for the maintenance of those rules. Even those nations, which were to be benefited the most by the security of the rights of neutrals, had been inconsistent in their demands; and Holland, for example, had in times of war essentially violated and limited the rights, which in times of its own neutrality it was desirous of asserting in their greatest latitude. Between 1746 and 1750 many Prussian ships, or other property, had been taken by English privateers. Frederic the Second demanded satisfaction, and as this was obstinately refused, he erected at Berlin a tribunal, before which his subjects were commanded to state and establish their losses. Strict impartiality was enjoined; and the decisions were regulated by existing contracts, or by public opinion on the acknowledged rights of nations. And then the king satisfied the demands of his subjects out of the debt formerly due to the English by Austria on security in Silesia, and assumed by Frederic in the treaties of Breslau and Dresden, by which Silesia was ceded to Prussia. In 1778 the Danish minister, Count Bernstorff, had proposed to the Swedish king, Gustavus the Third, an alliance for the mutual defence of free trade;

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and both had applied to the Russian empress for her coöperation, which was refused. Thus Panin has the merit, not of originally proclaiming the rights of nations as to free trade, but of having defined those rights in a few distinct propositions, and of having procured a union of many states for their acknowledgment and support.

The manifesto of the empress was delivered at the courts of London, Paris, and Madrid. She had no foreboding of the immense importance of the measure she had adopted, nor of the effect it would produce. So ignorant was she of commerce, that she flattered herself as having at once vindicated her honor and shown her strong regard for England. Panin took care not to undeceive her; and through fear of obstacles that might retard or ruin his scheme, he begged the empress would communicate on the subject with no one till the couriers were despatched. The empress promised and kept her word. But she could not refrain from confidentially saying to the English ambassador, that there would soon be delivered in her name to the belligerents a manifesto which would be completely satisfactory to England; and condescended even to give him leave to communicate thus much to his court. Sir James Harris hastened to communicate the joyous intelligence, and expectation was raised to the utmost. When, but a few days after, he learnt the true nature of the measures that had been taken, so directly opposed to the usurped authority of Great Britain, he could not but be anxious, lest he should be accused at home of inconceivable carelessness. The effect produced at London can hardly be described; the disappointment was proportionate to the intense expectation of great advantage. It was with difficulty that the English ministry could be induced to abstain from bitter reproaches, while the king replied to the manifesto by a cold assurance, that he should follow the treaties which existed between himself and Russia, and in following them no cause of complaint could be given to Russian subjects.

The courts of France and Spain, on the contrary, were filled with gladness. The satisfaction demanded was promptly given by Spain. The principles of the empress were extolled, and her own merits magnified. The empress began to understand the tendency of her measures, and, delighted with the glory which she had unconsciously acquired, she acknowledged the wisdom of Panin's counsel; gave her earnest attention to

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the principles she had established; and abandoned entirely the thought of an alliance with England.

The hope of fixing for ever the doctrine of maritime liberty now divided the thought of Catharine with her scheme for founding an oriental empire. She had the pleasure of finding other states advance to meet her in her design. None adopted her policy with more zeal than Gustavus the Third of Sweden, and in July, 1780, he announced to the belligerents his intention of strictly following the principles advanced by Catharine. Count Bernstorff, the minister of Denmark, was favorable to England, yet following the true policy which the interest of his country required, he also joined the alliance without delay.

It was now the policy of England, at least to prevent, if possible, the accession of Holland to the alliance of the Northern powers. The tardy mode of doing business in the republic delayed its decision till November; but at last that decision was made, and envoys were already despatched to St Petersburg, when England, feeling that a war with Holland would be the less evil, made a sudden declaration of hostilities. Holland invoked the aid of the allied powers; and Gustavus proposed a joint and earnest interference in behalf of the republic. England maintained, on the contrary, that Holland was a belligerent, and as such was incompetent to accede to an alliance of neutrals; offered sundry causes, real or pretended, to justify its declaration of war, and finally succeeded in having the question between itself and the republic referred for consideration to the negotiations for a general peace, to be conducted under the auspices of Russia and Austria. We hardly need call to mind, that the republic suffered in this war a shock, from which it never recovered, and England would concede peace only on the sacrifice of valuable East India possessions.

The king of Prussia was invited by Panin to join the neutrality. At first he declined, partly because he did not wish to entangle himself in engagements in his old age, and partly because he was possessed of no maritime power. But afterwards, when Catharine wished to give a more imposing character to the system of neutrality by the addition of Prussia and Austria, Frederic was induced to join it. In the treaties with Austria, the act signed by the empress had no name but her own. It was the privilege of the German emperor, in all compacts with other European powers, to be the first to subscribe to each copy of the treaty; Catha-

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rine's vanity was saved by the exchange of papers, signed each by but one party. Finally the king of the two Sicilies and the queen of Portugal joined the alliance. Thus the Russian empress could glory in the recognition of her principles by all the larger neutral powers of Europe, that took part in commerce. One thing of importance was indeed wanting; that the belligerent nations themselves should adopt them in their treaties of peace. The wisdom of Gustavus prompted him to urge a common effort to obtain such an acknowledgment from France and England. But Catharine was at that time no longer guided by Panin, and the proposal was declined. She was content with the empty honor of *seeming*, in connexion with the German emperor, to have effected the restoration of peace. Every body knows, that the envoys of the two imperial courts exerted, in reality, not the least influence on the peace of 1783, and it was not till everything was settled, that they were invited to hear the treaties read and jointly to sign them.

It is said, that the Swedes derived the greatest advantages from the system of neutrality. They made their speculations with the most judgment and greatest activity. Next to theirs the prosperity of the Prussians and Danes was increased. The Austrian Netherlands, also, took advantage of their favorable situation, and much capital that had been idle was put to profitable use.

Such are the main points in the history of the armed neutrality. The honor of Russia would have been better established, had its rulers subsequently maintained the same principles with inflexible firmness and undeviating consistency.

The volumes of Dohm contain interesting accounts of Maria Theresa, and still more so of the personal character, foreign relations, and domestic policy of Joseph the Second. Our limits permit us to do nothing more than to refer to them.

The third volume contains a sketch of Joseph the Second's designs of aggrandizement by an exchange of the Netherlands with Bavaria. This design was defeated by Frederic, who, to assure the future tranquillity of the empire, formed an alliance among the German princes for the support and defence of the German constitution. Never was anything better conceived, or more happily executed. Without any effusion of blood, the designs of Austria were frustrated, and an opposition made, which was sufficient to baffle any future attempts of a

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similar nature. The treaties between the German princes were finished and signed little more than a year before Frederic's death.

The last public treaty which Frederic ratified, was one negotiated at the Hague between the Prussian envoy, Von Thulemeyer, and our American plenipotentiaries, Franklin, Adams, and Jefferson. In this treaty, the great principles of the armed neutrality are recognised, and, in case of war, both parties pledge themselves to fit out no privateers* for the purpose of plundering private property.

The fourth and fifth volumes of Dohm are occupied particularly with Frederic. The fifth contains an account of the chief works which relate to him, and their respective historical worth. The fourth is filled with a copious account of Frederic's character as a man and as a ruler. But fearing to prolong this article, we do not venture to describe his habits, or draw an estimate of his merits. Yet in leaving the subject, we must say, that the perusal of Dohm's work has compelled us to think highly of the qualities of Frederic. He was benevolent, and, except where duty demanded severity, mild and forgiving. He was a most laborious man, rising sometimes at two in the morning, and always finishing a good day's work, before most men had begun. The year was divided into regular parts, to each of which appropriate cares were assigned. So also the day was regularly divided; the first hours were given to business in his cabinet; then he attended the military exercises. At twelve he dined; at nine in the evening retired to rest. His pleasures were few and simple. Study, conversation, music, and the enjoyment of nature were all. When young, he danced very gracefully. He was also fond of the theatre. He did not like the chase; and laughed at the idea that a hunt furnishes an image of war. He rejected the use of cards, as an unworthy waste of time. He always gave some of the day to reading. The society of his wife he never enjoyed; she spent her time in writing or translating books of devotion.

There are two great points, which made Frederic's reign important to the world. Though he was himself not scrupulous about seizing what he could get, he still rescued the liberties of Germany from imminent danger, and preserved

* See 'America,' &c. pp. 264–267.

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Bavaria in the list of independent sovereignties. And though he had himself no faith in immortality, and hardly knew that there is a God, he yet was an instrument in the hands of Providence for upholding the Protestant religion on the continent of Europe. Had he not succeeded in raising Prussia into the number of the great powers of Europe, the Roman Catholic faith would have been predominant in every important state from Lisbon to Warsaw, and the reformation have been left without any strong defence in the very land of Luther.

ART. II.—1. *The Law of Infancy and Coverture.* By PEREGRINE BINGHAM, of the Middle Temple. First American Edition. 8vo. pp. 367. Exeter. 1824.

2. *Traités du Contrat de Mariage, de la Puissance du Mari, du Contrat de la Communauté, et du Douaire.* Par POTHIER. 4 tomes. 8vo. Paris. 1821.

POETS have sung the praises of woman, throughout all ages, in strains of admiring enthusiasm, strikingly contrasted with the actual condition of the female sex. They have painted her in the brilliant coloring of love; and then raised the matchless creation of their fancy to an elevation in the ranks of life as ideal as it is exalted. Chivalrous devotion to the cause of beauty, humble adoration of the charms of person and tenderness of heart that belong to the gentle soother of human adversities, are the favorite themes of inspiration in the ardent season of youthful passion. We place her so high,

> It were all one
> That we should love a bright particular star,
> And think to wed it.

But a spirit, alike destitute of manliness and of gallantry, has too often presided over the formation of the laws, which fix the rights and obligations of woman in the social scheme. These have fluctuated in different countries, and at successive periods of human history, according to the varying combinations of causes by which national character is governed.

Inquire among barbarous tribes, who earn a scanty subsist-

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ence by hunting or fishing, or among nomadic nations, who range over extensive regions with their flocks and herds in primeval freedom, and you find that man arrogates to himself all the nobler pursuits of ambition, whilst woman is degraded too frequently to the level of a domestic drudge, or made the overtasked bondwoman of her selfish lord. War, with all its invigorating perils and its heart-stirring glory, is his; the chase, that mimic picture of war, is his; to mould infant states into the elements and proportion of greatness, to control the destinies of empire, is his; while in such uncivilized conditions of society, hers are the tamer duties of home at best, and oftentimes the severer labors of the field, which none but a savage would impose upon the gentler sex. Ascend one step higher in the scale of civilization, and follow woman amid the dazzling splendors of oriental luxury, and there you find she ministers more essentially to the refined happiness of man; but it is only as the purchased or favored companion of his hours of softness, not as the intellectual being, who is man's equal in all the best properties of his nature, his superior in some, and beneath him in nothing but those robust features of understanding and sterner qualities of character, which seldom, in the same person, harmonize with the kindlier affections of the soul. Nowhere, but in the fortunate countries which enjoy the blessing of European refinement, does woman approach in condition to that just equality with the other sex, which the sober and rational pursuit of their common felicity requires she should possess, which in the mere contest of physical strength she probably might never attain, but which man is proud to concede and woman to receive at his hands, where both the gift and its acceptance are alike honorable to humanity.

Yet even there, either man has been accustomed to profess more consideration for the rights of woman than he truly felt, or the execution of his purposes has lagged behind the intention. There is a pleasure which the polished Athenian, with all his epicureanism of taste, had but imperfectly learned, that of frequenting and rightly appreciating the society of the other sex, educated to as high a degree of intellectual culture as himself, and accomplished alike to move in her appropriate sphere of dignity and usefulness. Roman austerity was too near akin to unsocial rudeness, at least in the days of the republic, Roman courage too fond of camps, conquest, and free quarters, Roman ambition of too exclusive and selfish a char-

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acter, to admit woman to the elevation by the side of man, which is the surest evidence of genuine public refinement. The examples to which we shall presently refer, of highly educated Roman matrons, constituted the exceptions and not the general rule. Nay, in communities over which the benign influences of christianity have fallen, which boast that they are imbued with the spirit of chivalry, whereof gallantry towards the sex was a main ingredient, in the fortunate nations of modern Europe and their more fortunate offsets in the New World, it is most true that the exalted standing of women grows out of the manners, temper, usages, and unwritten institutions of the people, rather than the established laws of the land. In countries that derive their laws from the civil code, woman retains many valuable rights of property in the married state, but elsewhere her legal condition during coverture is defined by the simple and comprehensive, because despotic rule, of the complete merger of her rights, whether relating to person or property, in those of her husband. Exceptions to this will be stated in their proper place; but according to the significant phraseology of our law, she is only his *feme* or wife, but he is her *baron* or lord.

We do not propose to ourselves, in the remarks which are to follow, to set up for the female sex any extravagant standard of legal privilege, nor to lay lance in rest for the support of quixotic pretensions, in her behalf, to political or municipal rights adverse to those of the male sex. The constitution of nature, ordained by no human conventions, recorded in no fundamental charter of government or petition of rights, but written over the face of the universe, and stamped indelibly upon the very organization of our race, has, we conceive, settled the question, whether the female sex should exercise political franchises equally with man. As the nominal head of a monarchy, the empire of woman has in many signal cases proved highly auspicious. But this fact rests upon principles of its own. It will not answer to infer that the troubled arena of politics or of war best befits the refined character of woman, her gentle virtues, or the blended intellectual, moral, and personal beauty, which holds the stronger sex in bondage. We must take our election. Give to woman

> Ogni virtute,
> Ogni bellezza, ogni real costume,
> Giunti in un corpo con mirabil tempre;

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and still it will be impossible to unite, in the same individual, the feminine loveliness of Venus with the manly limbs and rough-hewn sinews of Alcides. Nature, therefore, has clearly indicated the orbit, in which either sex should revolve; and were they to cross each other's paths, confusion and disorder would inevitably ensue to punish their rash eccentricity. We do not esteem it any hardship, as some have done, that the property of an unmarried female is taxed without being represented. The maxim, that taxation and representation should go hand and hand, is most salutary; but no general maxim in morals is free from exception or qualification. Taxation procures for property the protection of the body politic; and neither the alien-friend who claims the safeguard of our laws, nor the unmarried female, nor the minor, whose estate the government guaranties against domestic pillage and hostile invasion, has just cause to complain of exclusion from elective privileges. Disclaiming, therefore, in the outset, any design to call in question the great principles of social compact, whose truth the experience of all the world confirms, we proceed only to call the attention of our readers to such peculiarities in the legal condition of woman as may lead to instructive conclusions. It is not the institutions of an Amazonian republic, in the regions of fable or in some Utopia of our own, that we seek to commend; but we shall speak of man as we find him, or as we may hope, without falling into Condorcet's vision of perfectibility, he shall one day become.

It would be highly agreeable to examine the legal condition of women among the ancient Greeks; but to avoid prolixity or distraction of views, we shall commence with inquiring into her duties and rights by the civil law. At Rome, the condition of the female sex, in the time of the kings and the early consuls, was purely domestic; and the sole aim of her education was to fit her for superintending the interior economy of her family, and instructing her own daughters in the arts of household industry. It was made a condition of peace, on the conclusion of the war occasioned by the rape of the Sabine virgins, that the Romans should not exact any labor from their new wives except spinning. (*Plutarch. Romulus.*) Caia Cæcilia, the wife of Tarquinius Priscus, was celebrated for her skill in the art; whence her name was borne by the bride in the marriage ceremonies. (*Plin.* viii. 48.) Other portions of the solemnity had a similar allusion; thus handmaidens followed the bride,

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bearing a distaff, with a spindle and wool, intimating that such was the appropriate occupation of the Roman matron. Hence the frequent allusion in the poets to this primitive branch of female industry (*Æneid*, viii. 408 and ix. 488, and *Ovid. Fast.* ii. 741); and hence, the old writer, while enumerating the qualities of a good wife, to *probity*, *beauty*, *fidelity*, and *chastity*, added *lanificæ manus*, skill in spinning and weaving wool. And although Suetonius (*August.* 73) relates that Augustus seldom wore anything for his domestic garb but of the manufacture of his wife, daughter, and the other ladies of his household; yet Columella laments, as a proof of the degeneracy of matrons in his day, *ut ne lanificii quidem curam dignentur*, that they disdained even the care of the spindle and distaff. He commends the matrons of the olden time, who assumed the whole charge of domestic affairs, and by their assiduity and activity at home, endeavored to equal and second the laborious industry of their husbands abroad; and however preëminent for beauty, aspired to no distinction, were ambitious of no merit, but that of superiority in the thrifty arts of housewifery.

In this period of Rome's frugal simplicity it was, when man deemed his *consort*, the partner of his life, worthy of no higher employments or enjoyments than handicraft labor, that the ancient law conferred on a husband immense power over the person of his wife. He might exercise, in short, the *patria potestas*, the tyrannical paternal power, which extended, in its original severity, to life and limb, in the government of his wife as well as of his children and household. (*Brown's Civ. L.* i. 85.) Tacitus records a remarkable instance in which this power was exercised at a late period. We copy it in his words. In the reign of Nero, Pomponia Græcina, a woman of rank, being married to Plautius, who enjoyed the honor of an ovation for his victories in Britain, being afterwards accused of *foreign superstition*, was consigned to the judgment of her husband; and he, *after the ancient usage*, in the presence of their relations, took cognizance of the life and reputation of his wife, and pronounced her innocent. (*Tac. Annal.* xiii. 32.) Dionysius of Halicarnassus and the elder Pliny affirm, that for grievous crimes he might inflict death upon her (*Dionys.* ii. 25, *Plin.* xiv. 13); and of course he had authority to subject her to corporal punishment for lesser offences. Out of such barbarous usages sprung the position of the old Roman law, which permitted a husband to chastise his wife with the same instru-

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ments of punishment that he applied to his slave; *flagellis et fustibus acriter uxorem verberare.* Having reference to the same point, is the saying of Cato the Censor, that he who struck his wife or child, laid his sacrilegious hand on the most sacred things in the world. But all these things are exploded severities, which the civil law in the days of its perfection justly condemned. For the least violence done to the person of a wife by her husband, having regard to the condition of the parties, entitled her to a separate maintenance. The civilians hold, that among persons of respectable condition, the slightest blow given by a husband to his wife, unless occasioned by very gross provocation, and even continued ill usage without being carried to the excess of personal violence, is good cause for granting her a divorce from bed and board. (*Poth. Con. de Mar.* 492.)

The civil law also authorizes the husband to require the society of his wife, and to exert such control over her person as may be necessary for the attainment of that object. It gives him a right of action against any person who entices her from him and with whom she takes refuge; and process against her to compel her to return to his abode. (See *Code Napol.* 214.) In opposition to this she can urge no objection, except such as may be good cause of separate maintenance or of divorce. The modern writers on the civil law elucidate this point by various cases. Thus, it is said, the wife cannot allege, as sufficient reason for leaving his house, that the atmosphere of the place is injurious to her health, or calculated to engender infectious distempers. But she is not obliged to follow him if he removes from their common country; for her obligation to her country is holden to be paramount, and although he may choose to abandon it, he cannot compel his wife to imitate his abjuration. Such are among the principal modifications, to which the right of a husband over the person of his wife is subject by the civil law. The rights of property we shall consider in the sequel; but what we have already said is sufficient to show how ill founded is the exultation of Blackstone at the cruelty in this respect, which he charges upon the laws of Rome. (1 *Com.* 445.) It is one of those disingenuous reflections, which he throws out against the civilians on several occasions, generally when he is upon a weak point of the common law, to disguise which he seeks to create a diversion by bringing into view some alleged defect of the rival code.

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Our readers are to remember that ultimately mere consent, without any outward ceremony whatever, constituted a valid marriage at Rome, as it does now in Scotland and several other countries of the civil law. It was only by a solemn marriage so called, that the *patria potestas*, with all its monstrous consequences, was conferred on a husband; and even then, if his wife had not been emancipated by her father, she remained under her father's power, not her husband's. (*Brown, C. L.* i. 86.) And while upon this point, we may observe, that, as a consequence of the marital authority of the husband over his wife, she, as the mother of his children, did not participate in his power over them, which was paternal merely, not parental. They were alike subject to the master of the family. (*D'Arnay, Hab. des Rom.* 250.) 'A fiction of the law,' says Gibbon, 'neither rational nor elegant, bestowed on the mother of a family the strange character of sister to her own children, and of daughter to her own husband or master, who was invested with the plenitude of paternal power.' (*Rom. Emp.* ch. 44.) A solemn marriage among the Romans was effected in three ways; 1. By prescription, when a woman, having the consent of her parents, went to her husband's house with intent to contract matrimony, and lived with him uninterruptedly one full year; 2. By confarreation, when the parties partook of sacrifices, and eat in communion from a consecrated wafer; and 3. By coëmption, which was a supposed mutual purchase, each delivering to the other a small piece of money, and repeating certain set words of contract. (*Heinec. Antiq. Roman.* l. 1. t. 10.) When thus married, the bride was said to come into the hands of her husband. (*Taylor, Civ. L.* 283.) She thereby resigned to him all her goods, and gave him full power over her person, acknowledging him for lord and master. She became his *consort* for life, the partner of all his rights, civil and sacred; and if he died intestate, she inherited his estate equally with his children, and if he left no children, she was his sole heir. Indeed so many important legal effects followed a solemn marriage, when celebrated with appropriate rites, that these, making no part of its essence, nor being requisite to render the contract complete, gradually fell into desuetude, as the increasing wealth of the city caused the rights of property to be more complicated, and foreign conquests introduced greater refinement of manners. Marriage by consent, a mere civil contract, supplied the place of the ancient religious ceremonies.

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After the Romans had carried their arms out of Italy, when a taste for science and the arts began to gain ground in the republic, the education of woman was no longer confined to the humble sphere of household cares. Ladies of rank and fortune became ambitious to acquire the charms of mind as well as person; literature ceased to be cultivated by the male sex alone; and woman sought to drink at the same fount that inspired the world of poets, philosophers, and orators around her. Cicero commemorates several Roman ladies of his age, remarkable for highly finished education. The two Gracchi, as distinguished by their eloquence as their tragic destiny, were taught the graces of speech, by which they reigned in the assemblies of the people, under the tuition of Cornelia, who was a model of purity in the use of her native language. (*Plutarch. Tib. Gracchus, Cic. Brut.* c. 58.) And Tacitus, or whoever else was the author of the beautiful dialogue on oratory, places alongside the example of Cornelia, that of Aurelia, the mother of Julius Cæsar, and of Atia, the mother of Augustus, who presided over the education of those future masters of the world. (*De Orat.* c. 28.) Appian preserves the speech of Hortensia, daughter of Tully's rival in the forum, who, when the triumvirs required an arbitrary and forced contribution from fourteen hundred ladies of rank, in order to raise levies against Brutus and Cassius, boldly pleaded the cause of herself and her companions before the tribunal, to which the oppressed people dared not to lift their eyes. (*Appian. Civil.* l. 4, *ed. pr. Steph.* p. 310.) Cicero was on terms of close intimacy with a lady named Cærellia, famous for her literary taste. (*Epist. Attic.* xiii. 21.) He applauds the elegant latinity of Lælia, daughter of C. Lælius, and her two daughters by Mucius Scævola the augur, one of whom married the orator L. Crassus, and had daughters, equally celebrated with the rest of their family for elegance of understanding and the judicious pursuit of letters. (*Cic. Brutus*, c. 58.)

The augmented consequence, which such examples of cultivated female taste conferred on the sex, could not fail to produce a melioration of the extreme rigor of the laws of marriage. A change for the better, as it would seem, must have taken place gradually, like most radical changes in the manners of a nation, and almost imperceptibly. It began by the disuse of the rites of confarreation, the most solemn form of marriage. At what precise period this happened, does

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not clearly appear; but probably before the time of Cicero, because the orator, in his defence of L. Flaccus, alludes to marriage as contracted only by coëmption and by prescription. (*Cic. pro L. Flac.* c. 34.) The disuse, however, is distinctly averred in a remarkable passage of Tacitus. In the reign of Tiberius, a question arose concerning the choice of a *flamen dialis* in the place of Servius Maluginensis; and the emperor's rescript recommended some new provision upon the subject. 'According to the ancient usages,' said Cæsar, 'three patricians, born of parents married by confarreation, were to be nominated, and one of them must be chosen for *flamen dialis;* but the number of them was now greatly diminished, the rites of confarreation being obsolete, or observed by few. For this many causes might be assigned; a principal one being the inconsiderateness of either sex; but the ceremony itself was purposely avoided, on account of the embarrassments attending it.' 'The senate ought to provide a remedy either by a decree or law; just as Augustus had softened many of the barbarous forms of antiquity into the existing improved usages.' (*Tacit. Annal.* iv. 16.)

A Cato or Brutus might have replied, perhaps, had there been a Roman of the old republican stock alive to address the tyrant with free speech, that among those customs derived *ex horridâ illâ antiquitate*, which Augustus had discarded, the sacred bulwarks of liberty had fallen; and that the *præsens usus* which Tiberius applauded, was the arbitrary despotism of usurpers. But the mitigation of the *patria potestas* in the hands of a husband was not the less a benefit; nor the substitution of intellectual pursuits for the female sex in the place of mechanical ones, the less an improvement. If the ladies of Octavianus Cæsar's family wrought his garments in evidence of their skill, or as voluntary testimonials of their regard for the emperor, it might be well; but really our opinion of his taste and good sense would be greatly lowered, if we could believe that he exacted it in obedience to some of the primitive Roman notions of domestic economy. When the wealth of the city was such that a patrician would possess a vast family of slaves, to the number of hundreds, and in some cases of thousands (*Athenæus*, vi. 20), having in the comprehensive language of Tacitus, whole nations of either sex in his household (*Annal.* iii. 53. xiv. 44), educated to perform every duty therein except that of its head, it would be strangely preposterous if ingenuous

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Roman matrons must waste their time upon the same housewifery accomplishments, that were in vogue when thatched cottages occupied the future site of the marble basilica of the Palatine.

To form a just idea, therefore, of the condition of women at Rome in respect of property, we must look to the law as understood in the latter years of the republic and the early ones of the empire. Considering marriage by consent as the established form, the civilians founded upon it the doctrine, that husband and wife might grant to and contract with each other, and mutually sue and be sued; only it was provided, lest one party should ever be tempted to take ruinous advantage of the other's fondness, and affection become the dupe of art, that gifts between them without a valuable consideration were void. To prevent either from injuring the other's property, the contracts of the husband were inoperative upon the wife, as hers were upon him, and they were wholly unconnected in their agreements with a third person. Hence a wife might sue or be sued separate from her husband; and although he was obliged to maintain her, yet if he failed to do this, it only gave her a right to sue him for alimony, but did not subject him to liability for debts of her contracting. (*Brown, Civ. L.* 82.)

In order to understand the legal state of a wife's property during marriage, it must be premised, that her estate was divided into two portions, namely, *bona dotalitia*, and *bona paraphernalia*; the first being, properly speaking, her marriage portion or dowry, the second being any property over and beside her dowry, and not confined, as with us, merely to wearing apparel, jewels, and the like. Property included in the latter denomination, whatever its quantity or quality, was absolutely at her free disposal, to be used or aliened by her at pleasure, without her husband's consent or authority. It was otherwise with the dowry, when no special agreement had been made concerning it. The marriage operated a transfer to the husband of all the *bona dotalitia*, conferring upon him a qualified property therein, subject to his wife's right of restitution if she survived him, or on the dissolution of the marriage during their lives.

According to Pothier's view of the matter, which seems to us rather artificial, she was not proprietor of the dowry during marriage, but only creditor of her husband for its restitution; on account of which right of restitution it is, he says, that the

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texts of the law call it her property and patrimony. (*Puissance du Mari*, 710.) But it is evident, from consideration of the fact, that it was far more proper to call her the owner. No part of it survived to the husband by law, even if there were children by the marriage. If it consisted of immoveables, he received the rents and profits, in consideration of his supporting the charge of the marriage state; but he could alienate no part of the capital *(fundus dotalis)* without her consent, nor bind it with her consent. If the dowry consisted of moveables, he was permitted, for the interests of commerce and because of the necessity of disposing of perishable articles, to alienate them; but he was bound to make good the value; and to assure her of this, he gave security by the *donatio propter nuptias* out of his own property, for the restitution of her fortune, or an equivalent for it, on the dissolution of the marriage. This security he could neither alienate nor mortgage, even with her consent, unless in certain specified cases of extreme necessity, or by providing an equivalent. In addition to this she had a general lien upon all his property to the amount of her dowry, and was entitled to preference over all other incumbrances, even those of prior date. If he became insolvent or embarrassed in circumstances, she might take possession of her portion or the security, or bring her action for it. (1 *Brown's Civ. L.* 266).

Now these rules we conceive to be, in the main, most equitable and just. From this encomium we should except, perhaps, only a single thing, the provision, namely, preferring the wife's claim to those anterior in date; which seems to us injurious to the rights of *bonâ fide* creditors. How different our own law is in every respect, will appear in the sequel. But the foregoing principles are acknowledged in all countries whereof the jurisprudence is founded upon the civil law, subject to greater or less modifications, introduced by the barbarian conquerors of the empire, by the christian clergy, or by changes incident to the lapse of time. Take the old custumary of Paris for an example. The law distinguished the wife's property into her private estate, and estate held in community, which is the technical term for the species of partnership in effects created between husband and wife by the marriage. He had entire control over the goods of the community, so long as it lasted, with the right to dispose of them without his wife's interposition. But she and her heirs became creditors of the community

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to the amount of her contribution, having a lien therefor upon all the specific effects in the hands of the husband or his heirs at the dissolution of the marriage. The private property of the wife, so called, consisted of immoveables, or estate having the nature of a perpetuity, and such moveables as by the marriage contract should be expressly excluded from the community. Over all this, a husband possessed certain rights of bailment and administration, comprised principally in three particulars. First, titles of honor, baronial rights, allegiance, feudal duties, and everything honorary attached to her private estate, belonged to him during the marriage. Secondly, he was entitled to receive all the rents and profits of her estate. Lastly, he had a right to administer and manage the property for their common advantage, including the power of making short leases. (*Poth. Puis. du M.* 2.) And more recently the *Code Napoleon* (L. iii. t. 5.) authorized parties to declare in a general manner, that they intended to be married either under the law of community or the law of dowry, that is, subject to the customary or the civil law, and provided specifically for the rights and duties which should flow from either alternative.

The relaxation of the primitive rigor of marital rights at Rome, favorable as it was to the pecuniary condition of woman, was unfortunately brought about by means, which introduced a pernicious facility of divorce. We say pernicious, because, notwithstanding the specious reasoning of Milton and some other writers who have maintained the contrary, it seems to be conceded by the soundest lawyers and moralists, that the experience of republican Rome and of republican France settles the dispute. (4 *Johns. C. R.* 197, 503; 1 *Haggard*, 36). The fluctuations which the Roman law underwent are remarkable. Originally, it may be supposed, when the paternal power existed in all its rigor, the husband might sell his wife as well as his children, or harshly expel her from his bed and house. (*Gibbon*, ch. 44.) Romulus permitted the liberty of divorce to the husband, if his wife violated the conjugal faith, used false keys, or drank wine without his knowledge. The right was denied to the wife; but if abused by the husband, he forfeited his goods, one half to his injured wife, and the other half to the goddess Ceres. (*Plutarch. Romulus.*) Divorce, it is supposed, was also sanctioned, and the privilege of it extended to both sexes, by the Twelve Tables. (*Cic. Philip.* ii. c. 28.) But, to the honor of Roman domestic

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character be it said, no example occurs of the exercise of this privilege by a husband until the year 523 A. U. C., when Spurius Carvilius Ruga, remembered only for this act, repudiated a fair, a good, and, as our authors affirm, a beloved wife, because of her barrenness. (*A. Gellius*, iv. 3; *Val. Max.* ii. 1.) For this 'he was questioned by the censors,' to use the language of Gibbon, 'and hated by the people; but his divorce stood unimpeached in law.' But in process of time, the right was greatly abused, as passion, caprice, or interest suggested motives to the husband or the wife for the dissolution of their union.

A marriage contracted in the most solemn forms could be terminated by some corresponding solemnity; for confarreation, there was the opposite sacrament of diffarreation; and they who were united by mutual purchase could be separated by remancipation. And in later times, when marriage was merely a voluntary union by consent, it could be dissolved, like any other *community*, and by the slightest act, word, or writing, that distinctly signified the will of the parties. The marriage contract might be torn in the presence of witnesses, or the keys taken from the wife, or the words '*Res tuas tibi habeto*,' pronounced by a freedman, or despatched in a written message; and the most tender and solemn of human connexions was thus lightly thrown off at will. (*Adam's Rom. Antiq.* 511.) If the divorce was made without any fault of the wife's, she received back all her property; but if she was culpable, the husband retained part of her dowry, as a consideration for his remaining subject to provide for the support and education of their children; and if she was repudiated for infidelity, she was punished by the loss of all her dowry. (*D'Arnay*, 238.) Such a consequence might sometimes prove not unacceptable to a mercenary husband; and that entertaining old gossip, Plutarch, mentions one Tinnius, who married Fannia, a woman of notoriously bad character, and then divorced her, as it seems to have been suspected, out of speculation, in order to secure her dowry. (*Plut. Marius.*) When the exercise of the right of repudiation had grown less odious then at first, the facility of divorce gave rise to many cases of the deepest individual affliction. The great Æmilius Paulus divorced his wife Papiria, the mother of a family of heroes, without any assigned cause, or any reason whatever, which his friends could divine. (*Plutarch. Paulus.*) C. Sulpicius Gallus repudiated his wife because she appeared in public with her head uncovered. Sempro-

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nius Sophus repudiated his, because she went to the theatre without his knowledge. Q. Antistius Vetus did the same, because his wife conversed in public with a woman of low condition. (*Val. Max.* vi. 3, *no.* 10, 11, 12.) Julius Cæsar divorced his third wife, Pompeia, the niece of Sylla, because Clodius gained admission into her house, in the disguise of a female musician, while she was celebrating the mysteries of the Bona Dea; yet, when questioned on the subject, he admitted that he did not believe Pompeia to be guilty, but that Cæsar's wife must not even be suspected. (*Plutarch. Cæsar; Sueton. Jul.* 6.) Cicero divorced his wife Terentia, at the close of the civil war, after living with her more than thirty years, alleging that her temper was overbearing, and that she had deranged his domestic affairs by want of economy. Ere long, however, he married Publilia, a young heiress of whom he was guardian, as Terentia said, on account of her beauty; but his freedman, Tyro, affirmed that it was because of her wealth, which he needed to discharge his debts. But after he lost his daughter Tulliola, Cicero repudiated his new bride, because he thought she rejoiced at Tulliola's death. (*Plutarch. Cic.*) Augustus separated from his wife Scribonia, either for her bad character, or because she complained too much of his own infidelity, and then compelled Tib. Claudius Nero to repudiate his wife Livia, although with child at the time, in order to marry her himself. (*Stem. Cæs. ad fin. Tac. no.* 45, 66.) Considering all the facts, too much censure, we conceive, has been cast upon the younger Cato for surrendering his wife, Marcia, to his friend Q. Hortensius. Cato regularly repudiated his wife, and she was regularly married to Hortensius; there being nothing peculiar in the case, except that he repudiated her for this very purpose. (*Kennet*, 319.) After the death of Hortensius, Marcia was again married to Cato. These examples might be multiplied to a great extent; but we have deemed it enough to select a few cases by way of illustration, either remarkable in themselves, or on account of the individuals principally concerned.

The instances we have given are all of repudiation by the husband; but women did not fail to avail themselves of the privilege. We have a parallel even for the case of Paulus Æmilius; for Cœlius, in one of his letters to Cicero, tells him, among other news of the day, that Paula Valeria, the sister of Triarius, had seen fit to repudiate her husband without any

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particular reason, upon the very day of his return from the province; and was now about to marry D. Brutus. (*Epist. ad Div.* viii. 7.) Seneca sarcastically observes, that many women, in his day, counted the years, not by the number of consuls, but of their husbands (*De Benefic.* iii. 16); and Juvenal alludes to the same state of manners in his satires (*Sat.* vi. 20). Yet it never became reputable for women, whether divorced or widows, to have several husbands. We read in Propertius of a lady, who prided herself that she had been *uni nupta*, 'married to but one husband,' and desired to have it engraven upon her monument. And *univira*, 'once married,' is found in many ancient inscriptions as an epithet of honor. None, who married a second time, were permitted to officiate at the annual sacred rights of Female Fortune. Yet examples were not rare of ladies of rank and character, repeatedly married. Fulvia, the imperious wife of Antony, had been previously married, first to Clodius, and afterwards to Curio. Terentia, after being divorced by Cicero, married his enemy, Sallust, and had Messala for her third husband. Nay, Dio relates that Vibius Rufus, who was consul in the reign of Tiberius, boasted of possessing two things, which belonged to the greatest men of the preceding age, namely, the wife of Cicero, and the chair in which Cæsar sat when he was assassinated. Tulliola, scarcely a year after the death of C. Piso, was wedded to M. Furius Crassipes; and being soon afterwards repudiated by him, was married the third time, to Cn. Dolabella, whom she quitted on account of his bad temper. Indeed, without citing these particular instances, it is evident that second marriages were frequent, since otherwise it would not have been deemed so honorable to live in widowhood; for public respect is apt to follow those acts, which are less common, and, which, indicating superior exertion or superior self-denial, therefore attract the greater applause. (*D'Arnay*, 239.)

It should be added that the Romans, with all their licentiousness and laxity of manners, never sanctioned polygamy, except for a short time in the reign of Valentinian the First, who, wishing to marry a second wife himself, made the right universal. But the practice did not generally obtain, and the old prohibitory laws were revived by Justinian in compiling the Code and Digest. Plutarch, indeed, considers Antony as having violated the principle, and married two wives at the same time, Octavia and Cleopatra; but as by the laws of Rome a legal mar-

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riage could be contracted only between free citizens, Cleopatra was not, and could not be married to Antony (*Taylor, C. L.* 345), nor Berenice, queen though she was, be the wife of Titus (*Gibbon*, ch. 44). Well aware of the injurious consequences attending the extreme facility of divorce, Augustus attempted various expedients for checking and chastising its license, none of which proved very efficacious. The prevalence of celibacy in Rome at this period has been ascribed partly to the fact, that freedom of divorce was less favorable to males than females, because it left the former burthened with all the children who sprung from the marriage. To remedy the evil, Augustus passed the famous law Papia-Poppæa, imposing various disabilities upon the unmarried, and conferring correspondent advantages upon the father of a family. So earnest was the emperor in the promotion of this object, that he gave Hortensius a sum of money to enable him to marry according to his condition, and prevent the extinction of the illustrious family of the Hortensii; a case strongly contrasted with that of a nobleman in England, George Nevile, Duke of Bedford, who was degraded from the peerage in the reign of Edward the Fourth, by act of parliament, on account of his poverty. When the christian religion had gained a permanent footing in the empire, a struggle ensued between religious principle, which tended to restrict, and the customs of the country, which continued to protect, divorces by consent, until long after the time of Justinian. (*Gibbon*, ch. 44; *Poth. Con. de Mar.* 436.) But with the declining power of the western emperors, a new jurisprudence on this subject arose, more compatible with the dignity and purity of the matrimonial connexion. Marriage again resumed, in the countries of the civil law as well as elsewhere, the sanctity which originally attached to the contract, without which everything most venerable and most to be cherished in domestic life would fall a sacrifice to irregular passion. It is not probable that any nation will soon renew the experiment, which was tried in France during the revolution, when marriage was again reduced to a union so loose and transitory, that it was justly described as 'the sacrament of adultery.' (*Scott's Napoleon*, i. 240.) The Code Napoleon (*No.* 275 *et seq.*) checked, indeed, the unlimited freedom of divorce, by throwing obstacles in the way of sepation by consent, but still suffered it to take place, if the parties persisted in desiring it. (4 *Johns. Ch. R.* 194.)

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Preparatory to entering upon a detailed explanation of the rights of woman by our own law, it is proper to state the general principle, on which all the particular doctrines are founded. This cannot be put in stronger language, nor in terms more to our purpose, than Sir William Blackstone uses. 'By marriage, the husband and wife are one person in law, that is, the very being or legal existence of the woman is suspended during the marriage, or at least is incorporated and consolidated into that of the husband; under whose wing, protection, and *cover*, she performs everything; and is therefore called in our law French a *feme covert;* is said to be *covert-baron*, or under the protection and influence of her husband, her *baron*, or lord; and her condition during her marriage is called her *coverture*. Upon this principle, of a union of person in husband and wife, depend almost all the legal rights, duties, and disabilities, that either of them acquires by the marriage.' (1 *Com.* 442.) If any confirmation of the legal correctness of the illiberal doctrine laid down in the foregoing extract were needed, it might be derived from a comparison of the condition of a married woman with the nearest analogous case, that of a person under age.

Various disabilities attach to the condition of minority. Infants, that is, persons under age, are supposed to be destitute of sufficient understanding to contract. The law therefore protects their weakness and imbecility, so far as *to allow them to avoid* all their contracts, by which they may be injured; but in favor of infants, they are bound by all reasonable contracts for their maintenance and education, and also by all acts, which they are obliged by law to do. (6 *Mass. Rep.* 78.) For the most part, their bargains are not void, but voidable only; which they may rescind or ratify at their election on their arriving at full age. They may ratify the agreement, if they think it for their advantage, and rescind it if it was inexpedient. But the disabilities incident to a married woman are not designed for her benefit and protection; but for the security of her husband. Hence her contracts are not voidable merely, upon a given contingency, or at the election of her husband, but with few exceptions, they are absolutely void; and this simply on the ground of the suspension of her legal existence during the coverture. For this monstrous doctrine of our law no better reason can be assigned, we imagine, than Bingham alleges, namely, the right of the stronger. (*Coverture*, 182.) It is sanctioned neither by justice, nor public policy, nor the exi-

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gencies of social life. On the contrary, it is a principle, whose antiquity is its only commendation, and which, in its operation, has involved the courts in continual embarrassment.

It is unjust, because it throws the wife and her property entirely into the hands of her husband, and leads to acts of oppression on his part, and of suffering on hers, as numerous as they are remediless. It is idle to apprehend, that to allow her any separate and independent rights would occasion domestic dissension, or impair that reasonable preëminence, which ought to belong to the master of the family. The experience of the great body of the civilized nations of Europe demonstrates the reverse. The knowledge possessed by both parties, that each retained valuable rights, notwithstanding the union of persons, would necessarily promote mutual forbearance and respect. It is not enough to say, that because man has more experience of the world, greater knowledge of and aptitude for business, therefore woman should be deprived of legal existence. All the advantage of his superior skill is attainable by allowing him the government of his family, and the administration of all the property belonging to him and his wife. That the extent of her disability is against public policy, and contradicted by the exigencies of society, clearly appears; because, for three centuries past, the law in this respect has been constantly making progress from the barbarous severity of its original institution into an improved state, more consonant with the complicated relations of property at the present day, and with the refined opinions and feelings of a lettered and cultivated age, in which woman has ceased to be the handmaiden, and has risen up to be the choicest companion of man. We have seen how the course of improvement in manners at Rome unloosed the rigorous bonds which fettered the condition of woman. In England and in our country, the melioration has been less considerable, either in fact or in theory; but legislative assemblies have occasionally done something; and the courts, obeying the necessity of the times, have done more, by moulding the plastic substance of the common law into such form and consistency as their discretion approved. Still, as a cursory review of female rights by our law will show, even with all the benefits derived to woman by the irregular interposition of the courts of chancery, her legal condition is honorable neither to the generosity nor to the good

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sense of that sex, which alone exercises the right of establishing laws.

Whether these observations are well founded or not, will be ascertained from examination of the doctrines of the common law, as they are expounded in the books. The cases adjudged upon this subject cannot be more conveniently classed, than by discriminating between them as they relate, first, to the person, and, secondly, to the property, of individuals in the married state.

To begin, then, with the relations in which woman is considered *criminaliter*. By the common law, it is no higher crime for a husband to kill his wife, than if he killed a stranger; but if the wife murders her husband, it is considered a more atrocious act. She is regarded not only as violating the restraints of humanity and the ties of conjugal affection, which would be equally true of the husband if he were the offending party; but, by help of an absurd fiction, she is further adjudged to have broken the *allegiance* which she owes to her lord, and to be guilty of the crime of treason. And for this offence she was liable, previous to the statute 30 George III, ch. 48, to the same punishment as if she had murdered the king, namely, to be burned alive; although petit treason, when committed by a man, as if the servant killed his master, was only punished by hanging. There is no question as to the legal principle of the difference; and it would be idle to attempt to disguise it. The murder of the baron by his feme was put upon precisely the same footing with the murder of the noble by his vassal, or of the bishop by a clergyman in his diocess; that is, of treachery to the person's liege lord and immediate sovereign. (4 *Bl. Com.*) And yet if we look to the true end and aim of all punishment, the prevention of crime, nothing is more absurd and mischievous. The husband is the stronger party; frequently he is bred to arms; more frequently still his profession or mode of life renders him familiar with deeds of violence. Under whatever system of laws, and in every country, the temper of the female sex is comparatively domestic, affectionate, and averse to cruelty; whilst the male sex are not unapt to lose their relish for the kindly charities of home in the stirring scenes of war, business, or politics, and are but too prone to acquire acerbity of feeling and harshness of character amid the stormy conflicts of life. Man bears the disappointments inseparable from our lot with less equanimity

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than woman; temptations to vicious excess, resentment, sickness, his failure in favorite plans, unforeseen obstacles in the path of life, the daily altercations to which he is subject in the world; a hundred causes, from whose operation woman is altogether exempt, or which she meets with superior fortitude, all betray man into those occasional bursts of passion, which either precede or accompany the commission of violent crimes. Hence it is, that examples of the murder of the husband by his wife are extremely rare; while, to the disgrace of human nature, the opposite case has but too often occurred. And the inference we consider to be most plain, that if either party in the married state should be punished more than the other, for a domestic murder, it ought to be, not the wife, as by the common law, but the misguided wretch, who raises his hand to take away the life of his defenceless companion. It is the wife, and not the husband, who needs the protection of the law.

Another curious difference between the conditions of the two sexes in criminal matters, by the common law, arose out of the immunities claimed of old in favor of the clergy. Originally it was held, that no man should be admitted to the privilege of clergy, that is, of exemption from trial and punishment by the lay tribunals, except such as actually bore the clerical habit and tonsure. But in those days of ignorance, the mere ability to read soon came to be regarded as sufficient evidence that the party was a *clerk (clericus)*, and entitled him to the benefit of clergy. Afterwards, when the blessings of knowledge began to be more generally disseminated, and learning was no longer exclusively confined to the church, laymen as well as divines, gained admission to the privilege of clerkship, under certain modifications by statute, provided they were able to read. But women, being debarred by their sex from taking holy orders, were denied the benefit of clergy, however learned they might be; and remained subject to capital punishment for the first offence in simple larceny, manslaughter, and other felonies; although for the same offence, a man, who could read, was liable only to burning in the hand and a few months' imprisonment. However, in the reign of William and Mary, statutes were enacted, allowing women, guilty of any clergyable felony, to claim the benefit of the *statute*, in like manner as men might claim the benefit of *clergy*. (4 *Bl. Com.*)

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The barbarous punishments, denounced by the common law against the crime of treason, are too well known to require recapitulation here. A part of the sentence, inflicting the most shocking outrages upon the body of the unhappy malefactor, was modified at an early period, in favor of women; for, as decency forbade the exposing and publicly mangling of their bodies, their sentence was, to be drawn to the gallows and there burned alive. But let it be observed, that while the law, merciless as it seems to be, shrunk from the brutality of the ordinary punishment in one particular, it took care to be more severe in another, by way of compensation for this imperfect leaning towards humanity. For the male traitor was first hanged, then mangled and burned, and finally decapitated and quartered; but the female was burned alive in the outset. (4 *Bl. Com.*) We shudder at the detail of these horrible cruelties, perpetrated in the abused name of justice. Happily some approaches to a better state of things have been forced upon parliament in later times; since by the statute 30 George III, ch. 48, before cited, it is enacted, that females, convicted of treason, shall be merely condemned to be drawn and hanged; and the milder character of penal jurisprudence in this country has preserved us from the degradation of legalizing such enormities.

As a corollary from the doctrine recognised by the common law, of the legal subjection of a wife to her husband, it was adjudged, in Lister's case (1 *Strange*, 478), that where a wife makes undue use of her liberty, either by squandering away her husband's property or by resorting to improper company, it is lawful for the husband, in order to preserve his honor and estate, to lay her under reasonable restraint. Nay, in Hardyman's case (2 *Str.* 875), where a husband declared his wife should neither sit at his table, nor have the government of his children, but be confined in a garret, by reason of her misconduct, Lord Raymond very cavalierly observed, that she deserved no better usage.

But although the husband may confine his wife, yet he may not imprison her. (*Prec. Chancery*, 492.) And if the parties are living apart, under articles of separation, the court will not permit the husband to seize the person of his wife; as was decided in a case where the celebrated John Wilkes figured to little advantage. The report of the case is worth transcribing, as relating to a personage of so much importance in his day.

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'KING'S BENCH, EASTER TERM, 31 GEO. II.
Rex vs. *Mary Mead.*

'A *habeas corpus* having issued in the last vacation, at the instance of John Wilkes, Esquire, to bring up the body of Mary Wilkes, wife of the said John Wilkes, and daughter of the said Mary Mead, before Mr Justice Dennison, Mrs Mead now brought her into court.

'The substance of the return was, that her husband, having used her very ill, in consideration of a great sum which she gave him out of her separate estate, consented to her living alone, executed articles of separation, and covenanted never to disturb her, or any person with whom she might live; that she lived with her mother at her own earnest desire; and that this writ of *habeas corpus* was taken out with a view of seizing her by force, or some other bad purpose.

'The Court held the agreement to be a formal renunciation, by the husband, of his marital right to seize her, or force her back to live with him. And they said, that any attempt of the husband to seize her by force and violence would be a breach of the peace. They also declared, that any attempt made by the husband to molest her, in her present return from Westminster Hall, would be a contempt of the Court; and they told the lady, she was at full liberty to go where, and to whom she pleased.' 1 *Burrow*, 542.

Thus much for one side of the question. But we nowhere discover that the courts of law authorize or countenance any attempt to make the right of restraint reciprocal. The disinterested makers of law take good care not to commit such a solecism. And yet far greater necessity exists for affording protection to the 'honor and estate' of the wife against the extravagance or the profligacy of her husband, than for the reverse. It is not in the power of a wife, to waste her husband's property by lavish expenditure, without his consent; nor, indeed, her own property either. Of his income or his capital she can obtain no more than he pleases to bestow; and he is liable, as will be explained at large hereafter, for no debts of her contracting, except they be for necessaries. But he, on the other hand, can profusely squander away most of his own property, and most of hers beside, in riotous living, or risk it upon the throw of a die, or embark it in desperate speculations, in consequence of which she may be reduced instantaneously from affluence and ease to indigence and wretchedness.

Again, there is little danger that a wife will abandon her husband's bosom, unless she be driven from it by ill usage, or

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corrupted and seduced by some profligate friend, whom he himself domesticates at his fireside. And this, compared with the instances wherein a husband deserts his wife, is a rare case. She is bound to his house and his hearth by the nature of her duties, by the care of her children, by the laws of the land, and by the despotic usages of society, more imperative and imprescriptible by far than all the codes in the universe. Her functions are domestic; her education is domestic; her temper is domestic; the constitutions of Providence have made her domestic; her happiness, her pride, her glory, all that exalts her in estimation above the other sex, lies in the round of endearing charities, which enliven, bless, and purify the domestic circle. She may be drawn from it, for a season, to mingle in the amusements of the world, and the pleasures of general society, which occupy their appropriate place among the agents that form her character; but it is on home, that her affections must finally and chiefly rest. It is a principle too firmly implanted in her soul to be shaken by slight causes.

Not so with the other sex. Wherever a man's heart may be, his serious pursuits and regular occupations are abroad, in his counting-room, or his office, upon the exchange, or in the forum, or wherever else the calls of interest, ambition, or duty may demand his presence. His being is not so essentially domestic. It is always in his *power* to abandon his abode, if caprice or evil passions prompt him, without of necessity losing his claims to free admission in society, certainly without fatal prejudice to his means of subsistence and of enjoying life. It by no means follows, because he is a wanderer, that he is therefore miserable; nor because he is homeless, that he is therefore an outcast. His sex is to him a charter of freedom; and if he possess a few grains of the ingenious Quesnay's *poudre de prelinpinpin*, he bears the universal passport, the warranty of welcome in every land. Hence it happens, we believe, and the records of justice will make good our assertion, that for one wife, seduced from home, there are many husbands, who abandon it; and for a single case in which a husband is under the necessity of asking aid of the laws to reclaim his wife, very many occur in which the wife is consigned to more than the sorrows of widowhood by the desertion of her unfeeling husband.

Anciently, it was held in England, that a husband might inflict moderate chastisement on his wife for her domestic government,

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subject to the same restrictions which applied to the right when exercised upon children or servants. (1 *Bl.* 444.) In Fitzherbert, there is the form of a writ of *supplicavit* for binding over the husband to security of the peace on account of his threatening his wife's life, or mutilation of her limbs. (*Fitz. N. B.* 80.) The writ commands the sheriff to see that the husband shall do no injury to the body of his wife, other than such as, for the purposes of domestic correction and government, may lawfully and reasonably appertain to a husband. (See *Moor*, 874; 2 *Johns. C. R.* 141.) But in Lord Lee's case, Sir Matthew Hale said, that *moderate castigation* in the register, was not meant of beating, but only of admonition and confinement to the house, in case of extravagance. (3 *Keble*, 433.) Therefore it is that Blackstone says; 'With us, in the politer reign of Charles the Second, this power began to be doubted; and a wife may now have security of the peace against her husband, or in return a husband against his wife. Yet the lower rank of people, *who were always fond of the old common law*, still claim and exert their ancient privilege.' (1 *Com.* 445.) If we are to judge of the excellence of 'the old common law' by this its adaptation to the vulgar feelings and habits of the most degraded members of the community, it would hardly seem deserving of much commendation. Indeed the remark instantly suggests the parallel case, in which Sir William's annotator declares that 'general terms of scurrility may be used with impunity, and are part of the rights and privileges of the vulgar.' (3 *Com.* 125, *Christ. note.*) To those only, we feel sure, who are lost to all sense of shame, would the privilege of striking a wife be now extended by the courts, either in England or America.

Indeed, this right was doubted much earlier than the reign of Charles the Second. For in Sir Thomas Seymor's case (*Moor*, 874, *more full in Godbolt*, 215), it is said; 'Cook, chief justice, held, that the husband could not give correction to his wife; but Nicols and Warburton, justices, held the contrary.' This opinion is creditable to the feelings of Sir Edward Coke; but true it is that the old authorities are against him. Bracton has the expression; 'There are some persons under the rod (*sub virgâ*), such as wives. (*Lib.* i. c. 10, p. 2.) And the well known opinion, respecting this point, pronounced at *nisi prius*, by Sir Francis Buller, a judge, as every lawyer must concede, whose character and talents adorned the bench, we imagine has been censured by many, who never entirely com-

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prehended its import. He is reported to have sanctioned the doctrine of the husband's right of domestic chastisement; and when questioned as to the dimensions of the rod or thong with which it should be inflicted, to have assimilated it, with great simplicity and *bonhommie*, to the size of his own thumb; which gave occasion to the fair sex to express much very pardonable curiosity concerning the magnitude of that part of his lordship's hand. But the similitude itself is traced to the times of Bracton; who, tradition reports, was much more unfortunate than Sir Francis Buller, because the women of the town where he lived punished him for his disregard of their comfort by plunging him in a horsepond. (12 *Serg. & Raw.* 226.) The principle, stating the thing in a naked abstract shape, certainly is admitted by the law; and Sir Francis may have said so; but if the principle were put to the test by an actual case, we do not believe a court or jury would justify the battery of a wife by her husband much sooner, nor under much less aggravated circumstances, than if it were the opposite fact, of the battery of a husband by his wife. No judge or jury, we apprehend, could be found to outrage public opinion by lending their countenance to such violence on either side, unless in the contingency of some unhappy female of masculine character, in the deepest debasement of moral and social condition.

In the ecclesiastical courts in England many decisive cases on this point occur. Thus Sir William Scott says, the court will not interfere on account of ordinary domestic altercations, but that whenever 'words of menace' are proved, the wife may claim protection. (2 *Phil.* 111; 1 *Hag.* 458.) So like security is there extended to the husband (1 *Hag.* 409); and if a wife wilfully provokes her husband to violence, she loses all right of legal redress for it, unless his resentment was altogether disproportioned to her own misconduct. (2 *Phil.* 133; 1 *Hag.* 364.) But acts of domestic oppression much short of a blow, such as continued insult, indirect efforts to inflict distress, as by cruelty towards a child for the purpose of wounding the mother's feelings, and the like, afford, in strong cases, adequate ground for allowing a separate maintenance. (2 *Phil.* 207.) And we state this right of protection as being reciprocal by the principles of the law; because it undoubtedly is so in England, and the decision of Chancellor Kent to the contrary rests upon the particular terms of the statute of New York. (4 *Johns C. R.* 503.) And the last named eminent judge confirms the

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position above stated that, although mere petulance, and rudeness, and sallies of passion, might not be sufficient, yet acts of perpetual violence, danger of life, limb, or health, or just apprehension of bodily hurt, will entitle the wife to the protection of the court. (4 *Johns. Ch. R.* 189.) But the judicious remarks of Sir William Scott, in a case in the Consistory Court, are particularly deserving of attention. He observes;

'What merely wounds the mental feelings is in few cases to be admitted, where they are not accompanied with bodily injury, either actual or menaced. Mere austerity of temper, petulance of manners, rudeness of language, a want of civil attention and accommodation, even occasional sallies of passion, if they do not threaten bodily harm, do not amount to legal cruelty; they are high moral offences in the married state undoubtedly, not innocent surely in any state of life, but still they are not that cruelty, against which the law can relieve. Under such misconduct in either of the parties, for it may exist on the one side as well as on the other, the suffering party must bear in some degree the consequences of an injudicious connexion; must subdue by decent resistance or by prudent conciliation; and if this cannot be done, both must suffer in silence.' 'Still less is it cruelty, where it wounds not the natural feelings, but the acquired feelings arising from particular rank and situation;' 'of course, the denial of little indulgences and particular accommodations, which the delicacy of the world is apt to number amongst its necessaries, is not cruelty.' 1 *Haggard*, 38, *Evans* vs. *Evans*.

Whether it be that peers are more pugnacious at home than commoners, or that their domestic affairs are scrutinized and reported more faithfully, certain it is that many examples of their domestic tyranny have made their way into the books. Perhaps it may be because peers can be put under recognisance to keep the peace only by the courts of king's bench or chancery. (4 *Bl. Com.* 251.) Among the examples of dishonorable notoriety are the cases of Lord Lee, the Marquess of Carmarthen, Lord George Howard, Lord Vane, the Earl of Stamford, Earl Ferrers, and Lady Strathmore. (1 *Hawk.* 255, *note.*) The case of Lawrence, Earl Ferrers, two years afterwards convicted of murder, and executed (*Foster*, 138), who frequently suffered himself to be betrayed into violent transports of passion, to the imminent peril of his lady, a sister of Sir William Meredith, is interesting in a legal point of view, as illustrative of the admirable juridical character of Lord Mansfield. Earl Ferrers had been commanded, by writ of *habeas corpus*

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issuing from the king's bench, to bring up the body of his countess, on complaint of her friends; and the earl, disobeying a first and second writ, was at length compelled to appear by a peremptory writ of attachment. On that occasion the question was canvassed and settled, whether the king's bench could issue an attachment against a peer during the sitting of parliament for contempt of court only; and Lord Mansfield successfully maintained the affirmative, on the bench and in the House of Lords. When Earl Ferrers came to Westminster Hall, he sent a message to the chief justice, desiring to speak with him; but Lord Mansfield bid the messenger tell the earl, that when an affair was depending before the court, he could not speak with any body upon it *but* IN *court*. Thereupon the parties came into court, Lady Ferrers having articles of the peace ready to exhibit. The earl then desiring to interrogate his lady, Lord Mansfield told her she was not obliged to answer any questions previous to swearing the peace; and the earl or his counsel, seeking to draw an answer from her by intimating that it might prove for her interest to reply, Lord Mansfield immediately said he had before told her she *need not* answer them; and now he would *not suffer* her to answer them; and the earl accordingly gave the security required without further delay. (1 *Burrow*, 631.)

Our ungallant fathers of the common law provided a peculiar punishment for common scolds, but carefully confined the crime and the punishment to scolds of the female sex. Scolds are defined in the books to be 'troublesome and angry women, who, by their brawling and wrangling amongst their neighbors, break the public peace, increase discord, and become a public nuisance to the neighborhood.' (*Tomlins' Jacob*, s. voc.) Our ancestors thought, perhaps, that men being indictable as common barrators or movers of suits and quarrels, and there being no precedent of such an indictment having fallen upon a woman (2 *Rolle's Rep.* 39), although Hawkins thinks there is no good cause why it should not lie (1 *P. C.* 525), therefore it was not amiss for the latter to be exclusively liable to punishment for scolding. The barrator is only subject to fine or imprisonment; but the scold was indictable as a common nuisance, and if convicted was sentenced to be placed on a certain engine of correction called a castigatory, trebucket, or cuckingstool, and after being exposed thereon to be plunged in the water. (4 *Com.* 168, 1 *Hawk.* 361, 365; *Toml. Jacob*, s. voc. *Castig.*)

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Several cases are reported in England of questions arising on such prosecutions. The indictment is insufficient if she be merely charged as *communis calumniatrix* (2 *Strange*, 849), or as a *common brawler* (2 *Str.* 1246); it must use the technical phrase *rixatrix* or scold (6 *Modern*, 11); and must lay the scolding to be to the common nuisance of the neighborhood (2 *Hawk.* 325). In queen Anne's reign a poor woman, of the name of Foxby, had the misfortune to be indicted for this misdemeanor, but by resolutely standing upon her defence, fairly baffled her persecutors. Her case comes up no less than four times in a single book of law reports. Being convicted, she moved an arrest of judgment, because the indictment ran, that she was a common *calumniatrix* instead of *rixatrix;* and judgment was arrested. But when the exception was taken at Trinity term, Chief Justice Holt jocosely suggested to her, that 'it were better ducking in Trinity than in Michaelmas term.' She was again indicted, it would seem, as *communis rixa;* and this being held to be defective (*Ld. Raymond*, 1094), judgment of the court below was reversed upon writ of error in the king's bench. It was requisite that the error should be assigned by the party in person; and when she moved the court for permission to appear by attorney, on account of illness, the court refused it, but allowed further time for her appearance. The court said; 'Scolding once or twice is no great matter; for scolding alone is not the offence; but frequent repetition of it to the disturbance of the neighborhood makes it a nuisance, and as such it has always been punishable in the leet, and so indictable.' It is added; 'They enlarged the time till next term, to see how she would behave herself in the mean time; for Chief Justice Holt said, ducking would rather harden than cure her, and if she were once ducked, she would scold on all the days of her life.' (6 *Mod.* 11, 178, 213, 239.)

We are not aware, that this relic of ancient coarseness has been recognised in this country, as adhering to any of the American codes; and a recent English writer speaks of the punishment as being antiquated and almost obsolete. A case lately decided in Pennsylvania may be considered as furnishing a safe precedent for all the other states in the Union. The Court of Quarter Sessions for the county of Philadelphia, in October, 1824, convicted Nancy James of being a common scold, and in obedience to several precedents in the same court, but none later than 1782, sentenced her to the cuckingstool and

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to be three times plunged in the water. Upon writ of error, brought in the Supreme Court, this tribunal had sufficient manliness to resist the attempt to revive the barbarous usage, and pronounced that the punishment itself had no legal existence in Pennsylvania. (12 *Serg. & Rawle*, 220.) In Massachusetts it is settled that this mode of correction, as singular and ludicrous as it is cruel, is incompatible with a provision of the constitution, which prohibits the infliction of all 'cruel and unusual punishments.' (*Davis's Justice*, p. 525.)

Generally, a *feme covert* is held to answer as much as if she were *sole*, or unmarried, for offences against the common law, or a statute, and may be separately punished for them by way of indictment; for this being a proceeding grounded on the infraction of a law, it would be unjust that her husband should be included in it for an act to which he is in nowise privy. Thus we have precedents of indictments against women for treason, murder, robbery, theft, burglary, forcible abduction, riot, assault and battery, trespass, slander, usury, and many other crimes, which it is needless to enumerate. But if a married woman incur the forfeiture of a penal statute, her husband may be made a party to the process, and shall be liable to answer for the penalty recovered. (1 *Hawk.* ch. 1, s. 13.)

But the doctrine of the legal subjection of a wife to her husband is brought to bear greatly to her advantage upon criminal matters. She is so far favored in respect of the power and authority which he has over her, that a *feme covert* shall not suffer punishment for larceny or burglary committed in company with, or by coercion of her husband. (*Kelyng*, 31.) Indeed, Blackstone lays down the principle much more broadly, saying that in such cases she is not punishable for theft, burglary, or other civil offences against the laws of society, she being considered as acting by compulsion, and not of her own will. (4 *Com.* 28; 10 *Mass. Rep.* 152.) But he afterwards subjoins, that the rule does not apply to crimes that are *mala in se*, for the perfectly satisfactory reason, that 'it would be unreasonable to screen an offender from the punishment due to natural crimes by the refinements and subordinations of society. But if she commit robbery in company with, or by coercion of her husband, she is punishable; and the reason assigned for punishing in this instance, and not doing so in that of burglary or larceny, is because in the latter case the wife is, by a

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fiction of law, supposed not to know what property her husband may have in the goods clandestinely taken (10 *Mod.* 63), but in the former the presence of the true owner of the goods constituting the essence of the crime, she cannot but know in what right they are taken (1 *Hawk.* 4). For the same cause of her legal subjection to her husband, she is not deemed accessory to a felony, for sheltering her husband who has been guilty of it, as the husband shall be for receiving her; nor if she receive her husband, when he has committed treason, is she punishable as a principal in the crime, because being under his power, the law presumes she is constrained to receive him; neither is she affected by receiving jointly with her husband any other offender. (1 *Hawk.* 4.)

But if she commit a theft of her own voluntary act, or by the bare command of, and not in company with, or by coercion of, her husband, she is no longer protected. Nor shall the plea of coverture avail the wife, nor any presumption of the husband's coercion extenuate her guilt, if she commit treason, murder, or manslaughter; because of the enormity of the act in respect of all these crimes, and in respect of the first for the further reason, that the law will not suffer the husband to claim that obedience from his wife, which he himself as a subject or citizen has refused to pay. (4 *Com.* 29.) And at the present time courts are much more strict in requiring proof of the husband's coercion than formerly; and it may be doubted whether the mere presence of her husband would be considered to furnish more than a *primâ facie* presumption of coercion. (2 *Starkie's Ev.* 705.) Indeed, the practice seems to have been originally encouraged out of tenderness to her sex, and in order to evade the unjustifiable rigor of the law, which denied the benefit of clergy to the wife; for it would have been extremely odious, where a husband and wife had jointly committed the same felony, to execute the wife and dismiss the husband with a slight punishment. (*Christian's note*, 4 *Bl. Com.* 29; 2 *Stark. Ev.* 704.) Therefore, since the statute, extending the benefit of clergy to females, was enacted, it has been held, that nothing short of the actual presence of the husband, and his direct personal participation in the act, will excuse the wife. (2 *Starkie's Ev.* 581.)

Another distinction contained in the books is worthy of note for the singularity of its operation. As a husband and wife are considered but as one person in law, a *feme covert* cannot

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be guilty of larceny by stealing her husband's goods; because, say the lawyers, it is tantamount to a man's committing theft upon himself. Furthermore, the husband, by endowing the wife, at their marriage, with all his worldly goods, communicates to her a qualified interest in them; for which cause even a stranger cannot commit larceny in taking the husband's goods by the delivery of his wife; but he may, by taking away the wife by force and against her will, together with the goods of the husband. (1 *Hawk.* ch. 33, s. 19.)

Many other illustrations of this part of our subject might be given; but to avoid the hazard of fatiguing our readers with too much crown law, we shall pass on to a different class of considerations. And ere we enter upon the rights of a *feme covert* as to property, we crave to be indulged in stating here certain consequences of the matrimonial relation, as to legal proceedings, which stand by themselves. Thus it was anciently holden, that no woman was competent evidence to prove the legal condition of a man, as whether bond or free. (*Coke Lit.* 6 b.) So also women, together with peers, children under twelve years of age, and the clergy, were exempt from the general attendance at the sheriff's court-leet, where all other persons were compelled to appear. (*Stat. Marleb.* c. 10.) It is another curious point of the old law, that a woman could not be an *approver*, that is, one, who, standing indicted for treason or felony, confesses his guilt, and to obtain a pardon undertakes, at his peril, to convict his partners in crime; and the reason of it was, because the *appellee*, or party accused by the approver, was entitled to the wager of battle to prove his innocence; and a woman, being incapable of waging battle in person, was debarred the privilege of approving. (2 *Hawk.* 294.)

But it is a rule of law of more importance, since it is one of daily use, that the husband and wife cannot be witnesses for each other, because their interests are identical; nor against each other, because this would be contrary to the policy of marriage, and might create domestic dissension and unhappiness. (1 *Com.* 443.) It is edifying to observe the reasons which the old lawyers give for the rule. Thus Sir Edward Coke very summarily settles it on the ground, that *they twain are one flesh.* (*Coke Lit.* 6 b.) Sir William Blackstone says, 'if they were admitted to be witnesses *for* each other, they would contradict one maxim of law, *Nemo in propriâ*

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causâ testis esse debet; and if *against* each other, they would contradict another maxim, *Nemo tenetur seipsum accusare.*' But this is altogether artificial; and the simple reason is the right one, their identity of interest and affection. That this alone is the true reason is confirmed by the fact, that identically the same incapacity exists by the civil law, which even goes further, and refuses the reciprocal evidence of father and son, and brother and sister. (*Brown. C. L.* 85.) Without entering at large into the numerous applications of the principle, it will suffice to observe, first, where either husband or wife is a party in any proceeding, civil or criminal, the rule is universal, that the other is altogether incompetent to testify. Secondly, where one of them, not being a party, is interested collaterally in the result, neither is witness *for* the other; and if the husband be disqualified by reason of interest, the wife is also disqualified; but in certain cases, where the husband's interest does not protect him from examination, neither will it protect the wife. Thirdly, where neither of them is either a party to the proceeding or interested in the result, the husband or wife is competent to prove any fact, provided the evidence does not directly criminate the other. (2 *Stark. Ev.* 706–714.) These explanations are sufficient to elucidate the operations of the general principle, to which there are few exceptions, and those only in cases of evident necessity, as, for instance, the wife is admissible to prove a charge against her husband of violence committed on her person.

We proceed to consider the consequences of the constructive unity of the husband and wife, in its influence upon the rights of property, where it operates with the greatest hardship against the wife. The reader must bear along in his mind this fundamental principle, that they are one person in law, and he will readily see why it was that, according to the common law, by no conveyance could the husband give an estate to his wife, nor the wife to her husband, unless through the intervention of trustees. (*Coke Lit.* 187 b; 1 *Greenl.* 394.) And for the same reason, if a woman owns any estate of freehold and marries, her husband shall be seized, and have a freehold in the lands, in his wife's right; and he becomes absolutely entitled to the rents and profits of it during her life, and the rents and profits may be aliened by him or taken in execution for the payment of his just debts. The fee remains in her, but he is entitled to the administration of the property, and to all the

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income it may afford. Chattels real, that is, estates for a term of years and the like, are also vested in him by the marriage, and he may dispose of them or forfeit them for crimes, and they may be extended upon for his debts; but he cannot devise them away by will, and if he omit to make any disposition of them in his lifetime, they survive to his wife. As to the wife's personal property, the law makes this distinction; the marriage operates as an absolute gift to the husband of all her personal property in possession, such as money, goods, cattle, furniture, and the like, so that he may make any disposition of them at his pleasure, without his wife's consent, and if she survive him they go not to her, but to his legal representatives. And the marriage operates in like manner as a gift to the husband of all the wife's personal property not in possession, such as annuities, claims in law, obligations, provided the husband reduces them into possession by receiving them, or by recovering them at law; but if he fail to do this, they survive to his wife. The rule is the same with respect to every species of property, whether owned by the wife at the time of the marriage, or whether it accrues to her during the coverture. And, finally, if the husband have by his wife issue, male or female, born alive, which by any possibility may inherit, and the wife dies, her husband is entitled to hold all her real estate by a peculiar tenancy called the curtesy of England. (*Bingham*, ch. ii, *Comyn*, *Bacon*, *Blackstone*, &c.) Such are the husband's rights in his wife's property.

Now let us look at the other side of the picture, and consider what it is, in a pecuniary point of view, that the wife gains by the marriage, in consideration of her parting with all her personal property for ever, and all her real estate during her husband's life. He is, in the first place, liable for all her debts contracted before marriage, and this whether he received any portion with her or not; because he took her for better or worse, and it is to be presumed that he informed himself of her condition before he assumed the burden of matrimony.

Secondly, he is obliged to maintain her, and may be compelled by law to provide her with all necessary food, apparel, and attendance, according to his rank or circumstances; and if he refuses or neglects to do this, she may by the common law sue out a writ of *supplicavit* to compel him to supply her exigencies (*Per Sir M. Hale*, 1 *Sid.* 109; and see 2 *Ves. Jr.* 195), or she may sue him for alimony, or she may contract

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debts to obtain necessaries for herself, children, or family, which the creditor may sue him for in law and force him to pay. But in the leading case upon the subject (*Manly* vs. *Scott*, *Sid.* 109 and 1 *Mod.* 128), Sir Matthew Hale pronounced a very elaborate opinion, in a part of which he carefully decides that a wife has, upon the marriage, no 'original, inherent, primogenial, and uncountermandable power to charge the husband for her necessities.' In order, therefore, to prevent the theory of the law from openly violating the plainest principles of common sense and common humanity, the sages of our jurisprudence say that, although the husband is not bound by an original and inherent right of the wife to support, yet an implied precedent assent of his to her contracts for necessaries may be raised upon the fact of their cohabitation in the state of lawful marriage. Such is the labyrinth of absurdities and overstrained niceties of distinction, into which the theory of our law relative to female rights betrays the wisest judges. However, they contrive to admit that in one shape or another he is liable, and this even if her character be dissolute, provided he permits her to reside with him as his wife. Nor can he throw off the obligation by abandoning her, or by expelling her from his house, or forcing her by ill usage to leave him of her own accord; only if he allows her a separate maintenance, he is not liable for her debts so long as that is duly paid; and he is not liable to particular persons whom he has prohibited, not by a general warning in the newspapers, but specially, from giving her credit. So that, so long as a husband is in good credit and in the possession of property, his wife is assured all the necessaries and conveniences of life, according to her condition and degree. (*Bacon's Ab. B. and Feme*, H.)

Thirdly, upon the death of her husband, his widow is entitled to demand her dower in all the lands and tenements of which he was seized at any time during the coverture, a regulation which Tacitus found in full rigor among the ancient Germans (c. 18). The unlearned reader should carefully distinguish between the word *dower* as used in the civil law, where it signifies a wife's marriage portion, and the same word as it occurs in our law, where it merely imports an estate for life in one third of all the husband's real estate. By the ancient forms, a husband usually proceeded, openly at the church door, after affiance made and troth plighted, to endow his newly married bride in the whole of his lands or such part as he

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should specially designate; a custom of which evident traces still remain in the beautiful and appropriate marriage service of the episcopal church. But the endowment of the wife in one full third of her husband's real estate has been long the established law of England, and of all those countries which borrow their jurisprudence from the English code. By the common law, the widow cannot be deprived of dower by any deed, devise, or other legal act of her husband alone; but she may be barred of it by elopement, divorce, being an alien, treason of her husband, and in other ways; but the most usual method is by means of a jointure, or competent estate, settled upon the wife, to take effect immediately upon the death of her husband, in lieu and in full satisfaction of her dower. (2 *Bl. Com.* 129.) Besides the ordinary modes of barring the widow's dower, the customary law of Massachusetts and of several of the United States provides the further course, of a wife's voluntary relinquishment of dower in all or any specific part of her husband's lands, by executing a deed thereof jointly with her husband, expressly releasing her claim of dower. (7 *Mass. Rep.* 14, *Fowler* vs. *Shearer*, *&c.*) We may subjoin, that a wife cannot be barred of her dower in the United States, as she may in England, by the treason of her husband, nor by any means whatever except her own free act and deed, her dower not being liable for the payment of his debts, and being thus absolutely secured to her, after her husband's death, in every contingency.

Lastly, by the English statute of distributions, the substance of which, under various modifications, has been transferred into the jurisprudence of the several United States, if a person die intestate, leaving a widow and children, one third part of his personal property goes to the widow, and the residue in equal proportions to all the children; but if he leaves no children, then one half to his widow, and the other half to his collateral heirs. (2 *Bl. Com.* 515.) But the husband still retains full power to dispose of all his personal estate by incurring debts which it shall go to satisfy, or by deed of gift or sale during his life, or by devise to take effect afterwards; so that it is in the power of a cruel or improvident husband if he was never seized of any real estate during the coverture, to leave his wife in absolute indigence at his death, and this although he may have died in a state of affluence, and of affluence derived from the marriage of the wife herself. So that, on a fair statement of

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the balance of pecuniary advantages and disadvantages to each party, it will appear that, during coverture, the husband is entitled to all the profits to be derived from the joint estate of both husband and wife, to live in splendor upon the income of the lands, or speculate in commerce upon the capital of her money and chattels, subject only to the charge of providing her with necessaries; that on the death of the wife, if she have had children, he enjoys all her lands for life, and her personal property is wholly and absolutely his at all events; but that on the death of the husband, his widow can claim only one third of his estate of inheritance, and one third, or more, or none at all, of his chattel estate, according as his caprice and the operation of the law may determine.

The unjust partiality of the common law to the male sex is manifested, in a remarkable manner, by two or three differences between tenancy by dower, and the corresponding estate of tenancy by the curtesy. Attainder for high treason operated the forfeiture of all the traitor's lands and tenements of inheritance, if he were of the male sex, including his wife's dower by express provision of a statute (5 and 6 *Edw.* VI. ch. 11), in order, it is said by the lawyers, to deter men from the commission of this crime by the prospect of the total poverty, added to loss of rank and mental suffering, which it must entail upon his wife and children. But the gallant barons and loyal knights and burgesses, who so liberally and generously provided for the impoverishment of their unhappy widows, if they themselves should be attainted of treason, were too wary and cunning to subject themselves to the like penalty. And therefore if the wife be attainted of treason, yet her husband shall be tenant by the curtesy of all her lands. (4 *Bl. Com.* 380.) Again, it is well settled that a husband shall be tenant by the curtesy in an equity of redemption belonging to his wife (*Cashborne* vs. *Inglis*, 2 *Eq. Abr.* 728; 1 *Atk.* 603); and although the two estates exist in the same species of right, it seems to be decided in England, although contrary to the opinion of many sound jurists in this country, that a widow cannot be endowed of her husband's equity of redemption. (See *Reeve's Dom. Rel.* 33; 4 *Day*, 306; 13 *Mass. R.* 227; 15 *Johns.* 319; 2 *Southard*, 885.) Again, it has always been holden, and we think *wrongly* decided, that a wife cannot be endowed of her husband's estate in trust (3 *P. Wms.* 234); and yet Lord Cowper has made it to be the law, that a husband

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shall be tenant by the curtesy in his wife's trust estates. (2 *Vernon*, 681; 1 *P. Wms.* 108, and 2, 713.) We cannot but consider these contrasted differences to be very striking, especially when we reflect, as every lawyer ought, upon the very unsatisfactory and inconsequent reasoning by which the stronger sex have settled the two last cases against the weaker one, and doubly in their own favor.

It is far from our intention to disparage the law under which we live, whose many and great excellencies we feel proud to acknowledge. But regarding the present topic as one of its most defective portions, we venture to touch upon one other class of cases in which woman is placed in a state of subjugation to the male sex, namely, in respect of all contracts. For it is generally true that a *feme covert* has no power to make a contract in her own right without her husband; and therefore such a contract is absolutely void. And if a wife sell or dispose of the money or goods of her husband without his assent, the sale is void, and the husband may bring an action to recover possession of the property. Nay, it is the same if she loses money at cards. (1 *Sid.* 120.) And if she buy goods, or contract to buy them, the price cannot be recovered in law, unless they consisted of necessaries, as we have before stated. So far is this incapacity extended, that by statute in England (32 *Hen.* VIII. c. i.), and by decisions in most of the United States, a *feme covert*, although she may dispose of money by will with her husband's assent, yet even with that she cannot make a devise of her lands so as to bar and exclude her heir at law. (12 *Mass. Rep.* 525. But see *Reeve's Dom. Rel.* ch. 11 and 12.) And all actions for her benefit, whether relating to her own separate property, or for injuries done to her person, must be sued either in her husband's name or in their joint names, according to various technical distinctions applicable to particular circumstances. (*Comyn's Dig. B. and F.*)

Some few cases occur in the books, wherein a married woman is entitled to make contracts for her benefit, and to sue and be sued, from the necessity of the thing. It is where the husband is dead in law, and therefore disabled to sue or be sued in the right of his wife; for in such case, if she were not treated as a *feme sole*, she would be without remedy for any injury sustained by, or claim accruing to her, and persons of whom she purchased necessaries would be equally remediless. Thus if a husband has abjured his country, or is banished

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either for life or for a limited time, or if he is an alien residing abroad, leaving his wife resident here, she is considered competent to contract. And by the custom of London, a married woman who trades by herself in a traffic with which her husband does not intermeddle, is regarded so far as having separate rights, and capable of bringing or defending a separate action. (*Bacon's Abr. B. & F.*) But the extreme rigor of the common law maxims in this respect press so heavily upon the female sex, in various contingencies, that the courts of chancery in England have assumed jurisdiction in order to afford parties that relief which equity requires. In those of the states, such as New York, for example, where a court of chancery exists with competent powers, a wife can obtain suitable protection for her separate rights; but it is otherwise in those states, where, as in Massachusetts, for example, the want of correct information upon the subject has kept alive an illiberal and unfortunate spirit of jealousy towards equity jurisdiction. With a brief statement of the salutary operation of chancery herein, we shall close our protracted remarks on this head.

In chancery, if a wife claims any rights adverse to those pretended by her husband, she may procure an order to sue or be sued separately. The general circumstances in which equity lets in the wife to exercise this privilege, are where anything is given or accrues to her separate use, or the husband refuses to perform marriage articles, or articles for a separate maintenance, or where the wife, being deserted by the husband, acquires property by her individual skill or labor. An example will elucidate the salutary tendency and effects of this authority more clearly than the most elaborate reasonings. Thus, a husband was attainted of felony, and his sentence commuted for transportation; and in the mean time his wife became entitled to some personal property, which the husband undertook, as he lawfully might, to gain possession of at common law. Lord Chancellor King compelled him to relinquish his claim, and ordered the money to be vested in government securities for the wife's benefit. (3 *P. Wms.* 37.) A husband deserted his wife and children for fourteen years, and then returned, and, exercising his common law rights, took possession of property earned by her labor during his absence; but a decree was obtained from Sir Joseph Jekyll, obliging him instantly to restore it all to his injured wife. (1 *Atk.* 278.)

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Again, a husband abandoned his wife for the space of twenty years, after which she became entitled to personal estate by inheritance, and her husband came forward and claimed it; but Chancellor Kent, upon a bill being filed, ordered the money to be invested and secured to the wife's use. (4 *Johns. C. R.* 318. And see 3 *Cowen*, 590.) In all these, and a multitude of analogous cases, the injured party could have no adequate remedy at law (*Bacon's Abr. B. & F.; Comyn's Dig. B. & F.;* and *Chan.* 2 *M.*); but is protected by a court of equity, which acts, in this particular, upon the principles of the civil law.

We abstain from remarking upon the rules governing marriage and divorce, pertinent as they are to our subject, because we feel admonished that we are overstepping the limits assigned us. But an explanation may be permitted, in conclusion, concerning a peculiarity in the laws of succession, which essentially affects the condition of woman, namely, the much talked of salic law; a text usually considered as affording authority for the exclusion of females from the throne of France. The salic law is a code of one of the ancient Frankish tribes, and the precise text, upon which inferences so important are built, is in the following words, 'No portion of inheritance in the salic land shall pass to females; but this belongs to the male sex, that is to say, the sons shall succeed to the inheritance itself.' (*Montesq. Es. des Loix*, l. xviii. ch. 22.) It is satisfactorily shown by Montesquieu, and indeed appears from inspection of the law itself, that it was only a municipal regulation, designed for the succession of the private property of individuals, having no reference to the crown, and least of all to that of the kingdom of France. By the phrase 'salic land,' neither the French territory, nor, as others suppose, a country in Germany, is intended. It signified, in its original acceptation, as used among the ancient German tribes, the *curtilage* of a dwellinghouse, the space reserved by each individual around his abode, according to the usage noticed by Tacitus. *(De Mor. Germ.)* The origin of the law is thus explained. The lands cultivated by the ancient Germans were given them only for a year, at the expiration of which they reverted to the community. Each individual owned in severalty no land except the curtilage of his house, which was called the *salic land*, and descended with the house itself to the male who was to occupy it as the master of the family.

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If a female had been permitted to inherit the salic land, the consequence would have been, that she might carry it by marriage to her husband, who, contrary to the true design of the thing, would thus possess two houses with the respective curtilages of each, that is, two shares of salic land.

But simple as the law was in the beginning, it acquired a wider comprehension when the Franks, having subjugated so large a portion of the Western Empire, and becoming the masters of extensive fiefs, naturally enough had recourse to the analogous case of their salic land for a rule by which to govern the succession of their new territorial possessions. The necessities of a barbarous monarchy, supported only by deeds of violence, tended to strengthen the analogy as applied to the succession of princes during the first race; because the rude warriors of that age demanded a ruler of the male sex, and one as rude as themselves, to lead them in battle. Precedents, therefore, frequently occurred of the exclusion of females from the throne during the history of the first race, and occasionally in that of the second; and the crown happened to descend from father to son during eleven generations of the third race; so that when Louis Hutin died, leaving only a daughter, the states of the kingdom solemnly and deliberately declared the exclusion of females from the crown to be the law of the realm, and raised Philip the Long to the throne, as they did successively Charles the Fair, and Philip of Valois, in each case to the prejudice of females more nearly related to the crown. And notwithstanding the imperfect foundation in law for this exclusion, still, having been acted upon for nine hundred years, it must be admitted the states of the kingdom were perfectly justified in pronouncing it to be part of the fundamental constitution of the monarchy. Yet the alleged illegality of this exclusion was the pretext for repeated invasions of France by English princes, who pretended a right to the throne derived through females, and who seemed to think, with the archbishop of Canterbury, in Shakspeare's 'Henry the Fifth,' that the dispute could be settled in their favor by astute criticisms upon the salic law. It is clear that a principle of succession uninterruptedly observed for nearly a thousand years required no confirmation, and could gather little strength from an obscure old text of the Frankish conquerors.

Of the wisdom of such a provision, however, there is much ground to doubt, and still more of its justice. We speak not

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of the question in reference to a savage state of manners; but if we did, many safe precedents could be adduced in favor of admitting women to an equality in this respect with the male sex. Grant that the tales of the ancient Amazons are in some sort apocryphal, and that Spanish or Portuguese friars, who would have us believe similar governments exist in America, err a little on the side of the marvellous. Still we know that among many warlike tribes, of the old world and of the new, women have been permitted to assume the honors of royalty. Cases abound in America; nor are they wanting in Europe and Asia. In ancient as in modern Britain, women could aspire to empire (*Tac. Jul. Agric.* c. 16), as the illustrious name of Boadicea may well attest. The influence of the female sex, and the authority of their counsels are apparent in every page of the history of the ancient Germans, notwithstanding they originated the principle embodied in the salic law. The names of Semiramis and of Catharine of Russia, if they raise the recollection of some personal weaknesses, are also associated with reigns of prosperity, splendor, and glory; nor would any masculine hand have been likely to sway the sceptre of empire with more of princely dignity and power. Zenobia might boast that but for the fatal supremacy of the Roman arms, she would have continued to show herself as worthy to reign as Aurelian himself. And if talent and fitness are good titles to power, certainly the proudest male of the line of Tudors, or Plantagenets before them, did not possess a right to rule more divine, a more clear and legitimate charter by nature, than Elizabeth of England. Indeed, it is one of the singular anomalies, which sometimes find a place among human institutions, that, in countries where woman is debarred access to all inferior political dignities, the right of succeeding to the crown should be made an exception in her favor. And it is, therefore, a subject of gratulation, that, in a great majority of instances, when exalted to the highest of all political stations, woman has proved competent for the arduous duties she had to discharge.

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ART. III.—1. *Travels in the Central Portions of the Mississippi Valley; comprising Observations on its Mineral Geography, Internal Resources, and Aboriginal Population.* By HENRY R. SCHOOLCRAFT. New York. 1825. 8vo. pp. 459.

2. *A Vindication of the Rev. Mr Heckewelder's History of the Indian Nations.* By WILLIAM RAWLE. [Read at a Meeting of the Council of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, February 15, 1826, and published in the Second Part of the First Volume of their Memoirs.]

MR SCHOOLCRAFT is advantageously known to the literary community as an accurate and judicious observer and an enterprising traveller. His researches have been directed to the works of nature, and to man, where man has little besides the physical faculties which nature has given him. Mr Schoolcraft has traversed the immense trans-Allegany regions, whose geographical features present an aspect of magnitude and solitary grandeur, impressive, and almost overpowering. There the lakes and rivers, the forests and prairies, are formed on a gigantic scale, still stretching before the eye of the traveller, like the distant horizon, which may be followed, but never approached. Within the memory of the present generation, this vast plain, extending from the barriers of the Atlantic to those of the Pacific, was the home of the red man, and of the animals which ministered to his subsistence and comfort; and even now, notwithstanding its population of two millions, the portion reclaimed by the hand of civilization is scarcely visible on the vast panorama, which it presents.

In following the relations of travellers through these regions, we are carried back to the days of La Salle and Hennepin. In all but the uncertainty before them, and the perils around them, the great features of the landscape are unchanged. There is yet a freshness in the birch canoe, and in the songs of the *voyageurs*, which time has not impaired, and they are associated with all our notions of a northwest journey.

Mr Schoolcraft was appointed secretary to the commissioners, who negotiated the treaty of Chicago in 1821, and he accompanied one of them from Detroit to that place. Most of the journey was performed in a birch canoe, and the travellers crossed the western arm of Lake Erie, and ascended the

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Maumee to Fort Wayne, near its source. Here they passed the height of land, and embarking upon the Wabash, descended that river to its mouth. They then traversed the state of Illinois, and reëmbarking in their frail vessel at St Louis, ascended the Illinois river to the Rapids, where they abandoned the water and travelled over the vast *steppes*, which intervene between that spot and Chicago. The incidents and reflections which occurred on the journey, together with the circumstances attending the progress of the treaty, form the subject of Mr Schoolcraft's work.

Mr Schoolcraft, in a former work, directed the attention of geologists to the western regions of this country, and he is the first author in the United States, who has published a detailed account of a mining district. His 'View of the Lead Mines of Missouri' has been for some years before the public, and it excited expectations, which subsequent events have fully justified. Some of the peculiar opinions advanced in the work require confirmation, and the arrangement of the facts is injudicious. But it evinces a precision and accuracy in its details, and a power of observation, which will render it valuable as a permanent book of reference. Mr Schoolcraft's 'Narrative Journal of Travels' has been already examined in a former number of this Review, and we shall therefore pass without further introduction to the work, whose title is placed first at the head of our article.

This author is among the numerous examples, which our country has afforded, of individuals, who have made their way to distinction, without any adventitious aid. We have understood, that his education was limited, and that he has been the architect of his own fortune. There is a visible improvement in his successive works, creditable to his judgment and application. In his 'View of the Lead Mines' there was little of the tact of authorship; while in his more recent book the style is clear, the diction pure, and the arrangement happy. There is however, at times, an evident search after words, not always sanctioned by the best usage. Mr Schoolcraft should recollect, that he will express himself most forcibly, when he expresses himself most easily.

The route, which our traveller followed, presented scenes and incidents, and gave rise to recollections and anticipations, of which he has availed himself. The interest of the narrative is unbroken.

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The daring character of General Wayne, the 'Mad Anthony' of the revolutionary war, is happily illustrated by an anecdote related by Mr Schoolcraft, in his description of the ruins of Fort Maumee.

'When General Wayne arrived before this work, after his victory over the Indians at Presque Isle, he caused a general destruction and devastation of the buildings and improvements for a considerable distance, both above and below the fort. Some of the buildings were within pistol shot of the garrison, who remained silent spectators of this scene. Small parties of the American troops frequently went so near the works as to enter into conversation with the sentinels on the walls. Nor did General Wayne himself shrink from a similar exposure. There is a copious spring of pellucid water situated near one of the angles of this work. Conversations held at this spring could be clearly understood within the fort. Here General Wayne, after riding round the works, halted with his attendants, and maintained, for some minutes, a familiar conversation on the events of the campaign. Those who know his enthusiastic character, need not be told that he made use of several very pointed expressions. The General dismounted, took off his hat, and drank from the spring.'

Mr Schoolcraft's historical notices of the military expeditions, which have at various times penetrated the country intersected by his route, are interesting; and many new facts, illustrative of the causes of their success or disasters have been gleaned by him from tradition, or from cotemporary accounts. He does justice, and only justice, to General St Clair, whose misfortune it was, to be twice placed in situations, from which neither talents nor intrepidity could rescue him. He was the victim of public opinion, but a military tribunal, in both cases, honorably acquitted him, and history has confirmed the sentence.

'Notwithstanding these ingenuous statements,' (alluding to the official report of the unfortunate commander), 'General St Clair is said to have brought off his men in tolerable order, with most of the wounded. During the action he had himself many narrow escapes; eight balls having passed through his clothes. The attack was conducted with astonishing intrepidity on the part of the Indians. After giving one fire, they rushed on, tomahawk in hand.'

In this campaign, as well as in that of Harmer, the result was not justly attributable to any imbecility on the part of the commanding general. The situation of the government ren-

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dered it necessary, that both expeditions should move with all possible celerity. The troops were undisciplined, their physical and moral qualities were bad, and the theatre of operations was so distant from the places of supply, that the *matériel* of each army was wretchedly deficient. It is matter of surprise, not that they were discomfited, but that they penetrated so far, and that any portion of them returned.

We have seldom met with a more spirited sketch, than the following description of a scene upon the Maumee, and it is equally faithful and animated.

'The river has its course through a heavy forest of trees, clothed with a profuse foliage, some of which overhang the water, and others, riven from their very tops by strokes of lightning, project their bleached and denuded limbs amid the greenest foliage. When we throw over a scene like this, the strong and deep lights and shadows of the living landscape, with its most minute objects reflected in the clear mirror of the stream; with here and there a small log cabin on shore, surrounded with a few cattle; and the whole enlivened by the occasional flight of land birds, or the sudden flapping of a flock of ducks on the water, a pretty correct idea will be formed of a morning's voyage upon this broad and clear stream.'

Our author omits no opportunity of investigating, and of investigating well, all subjects connected with his favorite studies. In the thirteenth chapter he adverts to his previous publications on the mines, and describes in a clear and methodical manner, the principal formations of limestone, sandstone, and granite, of which latter mineral, an insulated field is found in the mining district. He also devotes some attention, and it could not have been better devoted, to the consideration of the metalliferous marl or clay, which has thus far been found the principal repository of the galena of that region; and points out the distinction between this substance and the diluvial clay or gravel; the latter of which forms the upper series of the various deposits. This singular feature in the position of the Missouri lead demands further investigation. The only analogous fact we recollect, is that recorded by Professor Buckland, as occuring in the vale of Clwydd in North Wales; but this is not in exact coïncidence, as the lead ore mentioned by Buckland exists in the form of pebbles in a bed of 'diluvial gravel,' very much in the manner of the stream tin ore in Cornwall.

The oldest species of limestone (to speak in accordance

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with the doctrines of the Wernerian school) which Mr Schoolcraft found in the mining district, he denominates 'inferior,' arranging it with the transition, and not with the primitive class of limestone, to which latter he had previously referred it in his 'View of the Lead Mines.' Other corrections in the details of his former descriptions are made, for which we have not room.

Some just observations are introduced respecting the importance of the proposed canal from Chicago to the Illinois, and on the nature of the country, and the difficulties to be surmounted. There is not perhaps on the globe a spot, where such a mighty physical revolution could be produced with so little human labor, as by opening a communication between Lake Michigan and some of the upper tributaries of the Illinois. The Des Pleines, which is a considerable stream, rises in the country between the Mississippi and Lake Michigan, and pursuing a southeasterly course, approaches within twelve miles of the lake. The intermediate land is a level prairie, stretching in every direction, as far as the eye can reach. Its extreme elevation above the surface of the lake is seventeen feet, and that feeble barrier is all that is interposed between this mighty mass of water and the rich valley of the Mississippi, which it overhangs, like an avalanche on the summit of the Alps. It would be a matter of curious speculation to calculate the consequences of turning to the Gulf of Mexico one of those immense reservoirs, which are the fountains of the St Lawrence. The Delta of the Mississippi would be inundated and destroyed, and its low bottoms overflowed by a deluge, whose extent and duration no man can estimate. A gradual diminution would take place in the waters of Lake Michigan, which would be felt in Huron and Erie, and Chicago would present some of the imposing features of the entrance into the Niagara river.

It has long been known that boats can pass by water from the Illinois to Lake Michigan, but we have never seen a satisfactory explication of this singular fact; and as it has fallen to our lot to make this voyage, and to pass a night in a birch canoe upon the great Saganashkee marsh, through which the route passes, and that too with the *pleasant* accompaniments of intense heat, a violent thunder storm, and swarms of musquitoes, such as are known only to those who have traversed the western forests, we shall briefly recall our impres-

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sions of the scene. Between the Des Pleines and Lake Michigan, but east of the Portage path, there is an extensive marsh, to which we have just alluded. In a wet season it assumes the appearance of a lake, almost covered with the large water lily, whose yellow flowers and broad leaves overspread the surface, so that it would be difficult for a boat, without a skilful pilot, to find her way through it. This lake generally discharges itself into the Des Pleines, but when that river is high, its waters fill the channel of communication and flow into the lake. The *voyageur* enters this channel, and follows the track made by some other boat, or works his own way, slowly and laboriously. As he approaches the natural termination of the marsh, the water becomes more and more shallow, and his progress more and more difficult. He at length arrives at the boundary, and finds himself at the summit level of the country. An inclined plane of seven miles in extent, and with a depression of seventeen feet, stretches between him and Lake Michigan. And we very much doubt, whether the water of the Des Pleines ever surmounted this summit level and mingled with the Chicago, until this route had been frequently passed. The communication at present existing, has apparently been effected in a long course of years, by drawing the boats through the mud at the extremity of the marsh, and thus forming a small channel, which is soon increased by the velocity of the current, occasioned by the rapid descent of the country toward the lake. This channel is called the Rigolet, and bears every appearance of the origin we have assigned to it. A boat descends it with great rapidity, and about two miles from the marsh enters the Chicago creek, a deep and sluggish stream, at this point on a level with the lake.

In some cursory remarks upon the large mounds in the vicinity of St Louis, Mr Schoolcraft justly observes, that 'enough has certainly been written on the subject of our mounds, to prove how little we know, either of their origin, or of their interior structure.' These remains of ancient art have attracted the attention of travellers since the first settlement of the country; and standing as they do, the sole monuments of human industry, amid interminable forests, it is not surprising, that curiosity should be busy in investigating the age and objects of their founders. But little, however, has been effected to satisfy the rational inquirer, and before much progress can be made, all the facts connected with the topographical situa-

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tion and construction of these works, and with the remains of earthern and metallic instruments found in and about them, should be collected and preserved. The Reverend Isaac Mc Coy, the Principal of the Missionary Establishment upon the St Joseph of Lake Michigan, a man of sound judgment and rigid integrity, has observed a class of works in that country, differing essentially from any which have been elsewhere found. As his account of them is interesting, we shall transcribe the letter he has addressed to us.

'Aware of the interest you feel in everything relating to the character and condition of the Aborigines of our country, I do myself the pleasure to enclose to you a plot of a tract of land, which has been cultivated in an unusual manner for this country, and which was abandoned by its cultivators ages ago.

'These marks of antiquity are peculiarly interesting, because they exhibit the work of civilized, and not of savage, man. All, or nearly all, the other works of antiquity, which have been found in these western regions, convince the observer, that they were formed by men, who had made little or no advance in the arts. If we examine a number of mounds in the same neighborhood, we find them situated without any regard to order in the arrangement, precisely as modern savages place the huts in their villages, and plant the corn in their fields. If we observe a fortification made of earth, we shall find it exhibits no greater order in its formation, than necessity in a similar case would suggest to an uncultivated Indian of modern days. If it be a wall of stone, the stones are unbroken, as they were taken from the quarry, or rather from the neighboring brook or river.

'In the works, to which I now allude, we find what we suppose to have been garden spots, thrown into ridges and walks with so much judgment, good order, and taste in the arrangement, as to forbid a thought, that they were formed by uncivilized man. The plans sent you, by no means represent the most striking works. I procured these, because the places were near my residence. I can find several acres together, laid out into walks and beds, in a style which would not suffer by a comparison with any gardens in the United States.

'These places were not cultivated by the early French emigrants to the country, because,

'1. They evince a population at least twenty times greater than the French ever had in any of the regions of the lakes in

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those early times. In the tract of country, in which I have observed them, of one hundred and fifty miles in extent, north and south, from Grand River to the Elksheart, I think the number and extent of these ancient improvements indicate a population nearly or quite equal in density to that of Indiana.

'2. The early French establishments were generally made on navigable streams. But these improvements are spread over the whole country. Scarcely a fertile prairie is found, on the margin of which we do not observe these evidences of civilization.

'3. These works were abandoned by their proprietors long before the country became known to the Europeans. The timber, standing, fallen, and decaying, on these cultivated spots, has precisely the same appearance in respect to age, as that immediately adjoining. On a cluster of these beds, a plan of which I send you, I cut down a white-oak tree, which measured three feet two inches in diameter two and a half feet above the ground, and which was three hundred and twenty-five years old, if the real age of a tree is indicated by the number of its concentric circles.

'From the indications yet remaining, it is certain that most of these works have disappeared. We find none in the beech, ash, or walnut land, because here the earth is loose and mellow to the surface, and not bound with grass. We find them rarely in the prairies far from the timber, because the places of which I speak have been, as I suppose, not fields, but gardens, convenient to dwellinghouses, which were probably placed in the vicinity of the timber for the same reasons which induce our present settlers to select similar sites for their residence. In what we call barrens, adjoining prairies, the surface of the earth is bound by the grass, in the same manner as that of the prairie itself, and by these means the ridges are preserved. And notwithstanding the causes which are in daily operation to destroy these works, I am confident I have seen acres of them which will exist for centuries, if assailed by no other hand than that of nature. The Indians of Grand River informed me, that these appearances are found on all the waters of that river, and that they extend south upon the waters of the Kekalimazoo. A few are found near Michillimackinac. To use their expression, "the country is full of them."

'The Indian tradition on this subject is, that these places were cultivated by a race of men, whom they denominate

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Prairie Indians, and that they were driven from the country by the united tribes of Chippewas, Ottawas, and Potawatomies. The few who survived the calamities of war, went westward, and some may even yet exist beyond the Mississippi. But not the smallest reliance can be placed on any Indian tradition relating to a remote period.'

The remarkable impressions in the limestone rock in the vicinity of Saint Louis, have attracted the attention of this author. Their formation seems to be doubtful. While Mr Schoolcraft attributes it to the actual contact of the living member with the material of the rock before its induration; Colonel Benton, in a note annexed to the account, supposes that these impressions were produced by human labor. They are certainly curious relics, whether of nature or art. We understand, they have been found in various places in Missouri, and exhibiting different parts and postures of the human body. The resemblance in all is said to be perfect, and it undoubtedly is so in those we have seen. Even the muscular parts of the feet are distinctly shown; and if they are the work of the chisel, they evince a state of the arts, in ages long gone by, of which no other monument has survived. Colonel Benton has stated the difficulties attending either hypothesis, and although we are inclined to differ from him in his conclusions respecting the origin of these remains, yet our confidence in his judgment induces us to doubt, and await the result of farther investigation, for which we know of no one better qualified than that gentleman.

Our general impressions concerning Mr Schoolcraft's work may be collected from the preceding observations. It abounds in accurate and animated descriptions, and in just and philosophical reflections. There is a reach of thought pervading it, and evidence of powers of research, alike creditable to the author and satisfactory to the reader. The region he traversed and describes, is one of the most important and interesting in all the elements of future power and productiveness, which our wide spread country offers to those, who look forward with solicitude to her destiny. Mr Schoolcraft has placed this region before us, with its forests and prairies, its rivers and lakes, its animate and inanimate kingdoms, and he has described and lamented the decline and fall of its former possessors, and the exterminating march of those who are succeeding to them.

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The various notices of the Indians interspersed through this volume must constitute its principal charm with the general reader. Mr Schoolcraft enjoyed favorable opportunities for investigating the character and condition of these people, and he has surveyed them with the eyes of a cautious and judicious observer. He has avoided the extremes of reproach and panegyric, and has seen and described them as they are. It is certainly important, that a correct estimate should be formed of the situation and prospects of our aboriginal neighbors. It is important in relation to our general knowledge of the human family. And it is still more important in its application to the great moral problem, whose solution attracts the attention of the American government and people, and upon which must depend the renovation or extinction of this devoted race.

Among the best known works on this subject is that of Mr Heckewelder, and the observations of Mr Rawle afford us an opportunity, at this time, of investigating his character as a judicious and faithful historian. Those who have followed the progress of opinion on subjects connected with the Indians, are well aware, that almost all the previous writers, English or French, who have recorded their own observations, or collected those of others, have described these people, as possessing the ordinary proportion of virtues and vices, which accompany human nature in its uncultivated state. The sketch was sometimes brighter, and sometimes darker, deriving its color from accidental circumstances, and perhaps from the constitutional temperament of the artist. But the general outline was faithful, and the world was content to believe, that moral and physical evil was found in the American forests, as well as in every other region, occupied by any branch of the dispersed family of man.

But it was reserved for Mr Heckewelder to introduce a new era into our knowledge of these subjects. He has surveyed the character and manners and former situation of our aboriginal inhabitants under a bright and glowing light. His account is a pure, unmixed panegyric. The most idle traditions of the Indians, with him become sober history; their superstition is religion; their indolence philosophical indifference or pious resignation; their astonishing improvidence, hospitality; and many other defects in their character, are converted into the corresponding virtues. And Mr Rawle is not the only respectable writer, who has been deceived by these partial representations. No one can look upon the passing literature of the day, without

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being sensible of the effect on the public mind, which has been produced by this worthy old missionary. His favorite tribe, the Lenni Lenape, constitute the very *beau idéal* of a perfect savage. The great Indian family, however widely dispersed, is brought to this Delaware standard, and the *plastic* materials in the possession of Mr Heckewelder have enabled him to produce a uniform appearance, for which we shall vainly seek a prototype in nature. Many, and no doubt sincere regrets, have been expressed at that masterstroke of policy, by which the Iroquois persuaded the Delawares, that they were too fierce and powerful for men, and ought to assume the dress and duties of women; and then, by some magic spell, prevented them from resuming their pristine employment. And notwithstanding the commentary of Mr Rawle upon these and other traditions recorded by Mr Heckewelder, we shall find, that the character of this author for sound, discriminating judgment, is not redeemed from previous impressions. Mr Rawle conceives that Mr Heckewelder is not responsible for these stories, because he relates them as traditions. And he then observes, that the 'author who professes to give an account of the history of a nation among whom he has resided, would perform his part imperfectly if he disregarded their own traditions.' All this is well, but it leaves untouched the only real topic of inquiry. This is, not whether Mr Heckewelder has recorded Indian traditions, but whether he has recorded them as grave facts to which he assented himself, and to which he was desirous of procuring the assent of his readers. If these traditions are inconsistent with other and more authentic sources of information, or if they are incompatible with acknowledged principles of human nature, we may safely refer their origin to similar circumstances with those, which have elsewhere led to so much fabulous history. The slightest examination will show, that there is a spirit of credulity in the narrative of these legends, utterly irreconcilable with the cautious deliberation of an historian. No Delaware could relate them with a graver manner, nor with a firmer conviction of their truth. Nor is it probable that any one could be found, more anxious to impress this conviction upon others. The subject occupies more than twenty pages of Mr Heckewelder's work, and that it is discussed *con amore* is evident from the most cursory examination. If any one will read from the twenty-eighth to the fifty-fourth page of that book, he will find the most idle tales gravely

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related, and a sympathy displayed for the fallen fortunes of the Delawares, which leaves no doubt of the author's sincerity.

Mr Heckewelder's work comprises a series of chapters, and the letters which passed between himself and Mr Duponceau. The first part of the former is devoted to the history and traditions of the Delawares, and the latter to philological investigations. The manners and customs and condition of these Indians occupy the residue of the work. As the object we have now in view, is merely to ascertain the claims of this author to the confidence of his readers, we shall here confine our examination to his picture of Indian society. This branch of the subject occupies thirty-nine chapters. To place in a more striking point of view the total absence of all just discrimination, and the strain of panegyric in which the author indulges, we shall give his own synopsis of these chapters, and the commencement of a part of them. Our readers can then judge for themselves how far they are prepared to adopt the 'new views' of a writer, whose prejudices present themselves in such bold relief.

The five first chapters are historical. The sixth treats of *The General Character of the Indians.* It thus commences;

'The Indian considers himself as a being created by an all powerful, wise, and benevolent Mannito; all that he possesses, all that he enjoys, he looks upon as given to him, or allotted for his use by the Great Spirit, who gave him life; he therefore believes it to be his duty to adore and worship his creator and benefactor; to acknowledge with gratitude his past favors, thank him for present blessings, and solicit the continuance of his good will.'

'VII. *Government.*

'Although the Indians have no code of laws for their government, the chiefs find little or no difficulty in governing them. They are supported by able, experienced counsellors, men who study the welfare of the nation,' &c.

'VIII. *Education.*

'It may justly be a subject of wonder, how a nation without a written code of laws or a system of jurisprudence, without any form or constitution of government, and without even a single elective or hereditary magistracy can subsist together in peace and harmony, and in the exercise of the moral virtues.'

'XI. *Oratory.*

'The eloquence of the Indians is natural and simple; they speak what their feelings dictate without art and without rule;

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their speeches are forcible and impressive, their arguments few and pointed, and when they mean to persuade, as well as convince, they take the shortest way to reach the heart.'

'XIV. *Intercourse with each other.*

'It is a striking fact, that the Indians in their uncivilized state should so behave towards each other, as though they were a civilized people.'

'XV. *Political Manœuvres.*

'In the management of their national affairs, the Indians display as much skill and dexterity, perhaps, as any people upon earth.'

'XVI. *Marriage and Treatment of their Wives.*

'There are many people who believe, from the labor that they see the Indian women perform, that they are in a manner treated as slaves. These labors are hard indeed, compared with the tasks imposed upon females in civilized society; but they are no more than their fair share, under every consideration and due allowance of the hardships attendant on savage life. Therefore they are not only voluntarily but cheerfully submitted to,' &c.*

'XVII. *Respect for the Age.*

'There is no nation in the world, who pay greater respect to old age than the American Indians.'

'XVIII. *Pride and Greatness of Soul.*

'The Indians are proud, but not vain; they consider vanity as degrading, and unworthy the character of a man.'

'XIX. *Wars, and the Causes which lead to them.*

'It is a fixed principle with the Indians, that evil cannot come out of good, that no friend will injure a friend,' &c.

'XX. *Manner of surprising their Enemies.*

'Courage, art, and circumspection are the essential and indispensable qualifications of an Indian warrior.'

'XXI. *Peace Messengers.*

'While the American Indians remained in the free and undisturbed possession of the land which God gave to them, and even for a long time after the Europeans had settled themselves in their

* Of all the astonishing mistakes made by Mr Heckewelder, there is none which displays greater ignorance of the subject than this. The life of an Indian woman is a life of labor, and servitude, and fear. She is considered as an inferior being, made to work for her family and to obey her husband. And every person, who has resided a single day in an Indian camp, must be aware of the brutality, with which the women are treated.

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country, there was no people upon earth, who paid a more religious respect than they did, to the sacred character of ambassadors.'

'XXII. *Treaties.*

'In early times, when Indian nations, after long and bloody wars, met together for the purpose of adjusting their difference, or concluding a peace with each other, it was their laudable custom, as a token of their sincerity, to remove out of the place where the peacemakers were sitting all warlike weapons and instruments of destruction, &c. "For," said they, "when we are engaged in a good work, nothing that is bad must be visible. We are met together to forgive and forget,"' &c.

'XXIII. *General Observations of the Indians on the White People.*

'The Indians believe that the whites were made by the same Great Spirit who created them,' &c. 'They will not admit that the whites are superior beings,' &c. 'But that they [the Indians] have no need of any such book, to let them know the will of their maker; they find it engraved on their own hearts,' &c.

'XXVI. *Dances, Songs, Sacrifices.*

'The dances of the Indians vary according to the purposes for which they are intended.' 'It is a pleasing spectacle to see the Indian dances when intended merely for social diversion and innocent amusement. I acknowledge, I would prefer being present at them for a full hour, than a few minutes only at such dances as I have witnessed in our country towns,' &c.

'XXX. *Physicians and Surgeons.*

'By these names I mean to distinguish the good and honest practitioners,' &c. 'With this only exception, the Indian physicians are perhaps more free from fanciful theories, than those of any other nation upon earth.'

'XXXII. *Superstition.*

'Great and powerful as the Indian conceives himself to be, firm and undaunted as he really is, braving all seasons and weathers, patient of hunger, careless of danger, fond of displaying the native energy,' &c.

'XXXVIII. *Friendship.*

'Those who believe that no faith is to be placed in the friendship of an Indian, are egregiously mistaken, and know very little of the true character of these men of nature.'

'XLIV. *The Indians and the Whites compared.*'

'If lions had painters!' We need not quote from this chapter. It contains the quintessence of all that precede it.

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The other chapters of this work embrace topics not readily admitting these encomiastic introductions. They relate principally, though not altogether, to the physical condition of the Indians, and to those arbitrary customs, which have no connexion with the moral qualities of a people. These are; 'Computation of Time;' 'Preachers and Prophets;' 'Funerals;' 'Drunkenness;' 'Insanity;' 'Suicide;' 'Initiation of Boys;' 'Doctors and Jugglers;' 'Bodily Constitution and Diseases;' 'Scalping, Whoops, &c.;' 'Dress, &c.;' 'Food and Cookery.'

Let it be recollected, that the quotations here made, are not selected for the purpose of exhibiting the peculiar views of the author, but that they are his own leading observations, introducing the various topics he proposes to examine and discuss. And with these facts in view, our readers may well coïncide in sentiment with Mr Rawle, when he says, that 'He,' Mr Heckewelder, 'presented to us some new views of the Indian character,' however they may differ from him in his opinion, that 'the whole account of them was conveyed in a manner so plain and unaffected, with such evident *candor* and apparent *accuracy*, that conviction generally, if not universally, followed.' Mr Rawle's character is deservedly high, but in these observations he does not appear to us to have displayed his accustomed powers of discrimination, nor the acumen of his profession.

We protest with equal earnestness and sincerity against any construction of our language which would impute to us a design to throw the slightest doubt upon the moral qualities of Mr Heckewelder. He has gone, where our praise and censure are equally worthless to him; but we shall say of him what we knew of him, that in the integrity of his purposes, in the blamelessness of his life and conversation, and in his devotion to the great objects before him, he approached the models of the primitive ages. We say this, because the spirit of our observations on a former occasion has been misunderstood, and because we disclaim all intentions of disparaging the memory of this venerable man, by whomsoever such a design may be imputed to us.

But Mr Heckewelder's work is a part of the general stock of literature, open to examination, and from the nature of its topics, inviting it. That various opinions should prevail, concerning its merit and fidelity, ought to have been anticipated; particularly as the author 'has impressed us,' in the language

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of Mr Rawle, 'with the belief, that these people were still more acute, more politic, and in in some respect more refined than had been generally understood.' And if, on the first appearance of the work, its statements and conclusions were not called in question, Mr Rawle will find the true reason in the subject itself, of which few had any personal knowledge, and not in a general acquiescence in its doctrines and details among those qualified to estimate them. We well know the impression produced by it upon the minds of many, who are conversant with these matters; and in stating our own opinion, we state the opinions of persons competent to form one on the subject, that as a record of Indian history, as a description of Indian condition, and as a picture of Indian society and manners, it is little better than a work of the imagination. Let its general views be contrasted with a *summary* of Indian character lately published in a contemporary Journal;* and it will be obvious, that its author wrote under the influence of warm attachments and strong prejudices. To the fidelity of this general summary, it affords us pleasure to bear witness. It describes the Indians, as we have found them, with some virtues and many vices; prone to action more than reflection; yielding to the fiercest passions; with few efforts to acquire knowledge, and still fewer to improve the heart; and fading, wasting, disappearing before our vices and their own.

By examining Mr Heckewelder's 'History of the Moravian Missions,' his memoir, submitted, with other documents, to the Senate of the United States in 1823, and his history of the Indians; the nature of his intercourse with the various tribes, and his opportunities of surveying and describing them may easily be ascertained. It will be found, and such we know to have been the fact, that he had no general acquaintance with the Western Indians. His intercourse was confined to a small band of the Delaware tribe, who during many years received the humane attentions of the Moravians, and who had lost many of their own distinctive traits without acquiring ours. This band, after various migrations, settled upon the Muskingum river, about seventy miles west of Pittsburgh, and here Mr Heckewelder's knowledge of the Indian character was principally acquired. His band was removed from this place by the British authorities during the revolution-

* The Western Museum.

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ary war, to the river Huron of Lake St Clair, and Mr Heckewelder accompanied and remained with them a short time. One journey to Vincennes, and two or three shorter excursions upon the business of the mission, and we have the whole history of his intercourse with the Indians. Of the Wyandots, the Ottawas, the Chippewas, the Potawatamies, the Miamies, the Shawnese, the Kickapoos, all tribes of that region, he knew nothing. And if a comparison be instituted between his 'Narrative' and 'Memoir' and his 'History,' it will be obvious that the latter has passed through other hands, and has assumed an appearance its author could never have given it. These three works, as they appear before the public, were never written by the same person.

If it be now asked, What peculiar claims had Mr Heckewelder to our confidence, and upon what is founded his right to unsettle our knowledge of these subjects, and to introduce 'new views of the Indian character?' the answer must be, Neither the powers of research or observation he has displayed, nor the advantages of situation and intercourse enjoyed by him; neither the constitution of his own mind, nor the circumstances in which he was placed. At the extremity of a long life, and after his attention had been many years withdrawn from kindred topics, he was called upon for his collections and recollections, for a minute account of all he had seen, and heard, and done during half a century. With enfeebled faculties (and we trust we may say this with reference to human nature generally, and not subject ourselves to any charge of unkindness towards this venerable man), he undertook his task, and it should excite no surprise, that his work is almost a collection of anecdotes, to which he had listened in his earlier life with the faith and fondness of a Delaware.

We have said that the effect of this work is visible upon the literature of the day; and a stronger illustration of this fact cannot be found, than in the various sketches of Indian condition and character interspersed through the novels of Cooper. With the powers of invention and description displayed by this writer, it is a source of regret that he did not cross the Allegany, instead of the Atlantic, and survey the red man in the forests and prairies, which yet remain to him. If he would collect his materials from nature, instead of the shadowy representations he has studied, he might give to the world a series of works, as popular and interesting as any that adorn

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the literature of the day. Nor is there in the whole range of literature, a subject more happily adapted to that union of powerful invention and faithful delineation, which forms the charm of modern novels. Should our popular novelist adopt this course, he would discover how far he has wandered from nature in following the path marked out by Mr Heckewelder. He would find that an Indian does not always speak in figures and parables. In the 'Last of the Mohicans,' and in the 'Prairie,' scarcely a conversation can be found, in which questions are directly asked and directly answered. We quote a few specimens of this manner.

'A gull fans a thousand miles of air to find the sea; the women and children of a pale face cannot live without the meat of a bison; a head is white, but there is a forked tongue; the leaves cover the trees in the season of fruits; a tongue with two ends, like a serpent; they listen like deer to the step of a cougar; no one can tell the number of the stars. Is the Tetou a fish, that he can see it in the river? The eagle at the falls of the endless river was in its egg, many snows after my hand had struck a Pawnee. If any of his words fall to the ground, they will pick them up and hold them to their ears. He gave them tongues, like the false call of the wild cat-bird; hearts like rabbits; the cunning of the hog (but none of the fox), and arms longer than the legs of the moose. Let the eyes of a dying eagle gaze on the rising sun. He has only manisfested, that he is a singing bird. Look at the sun; he is now in the upper branch of the hemlock. Before the sun could go his length, the little water would be in the big.'

This is not the manner in which Indians talk, nor is it the manner in which any people talk. When strongly excited and in their public councils, they express themselves figuratively, but even then, not so generally as has been often represented.

There seem to be set phrases, applicable to solemn occasions, which are introduced into their public addresses. In ordinary conversation, their language is plain and unornamented, and as free from the labored conceits, we have quoted, as they themselves are from affectation. They are not of the Hudibrastic school;

'he could not ope
His mouth, but out there flew a trope.'

'They number,' says one of the speakers in the Prairie, 'as many as the fingers of my hand.' No Indian from Patagonia to Hudson's Bay ever used this periphrastic expression for the

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simple word *ten*. It is rather difficult to believe the author can be serious. An Indian will hold up his fingers if apprehensive he cannot be understood, and appeal by significant gestures to the eye; but to those who understand him he will use the proper numeral.

The most extravagant conceit, however, is, that 'to an Indian eye a humming-bird leaves his track in the air.' It was doubtless such an eye, that enabled the party in pursuit of the lost daughters of Monro to distinguish the moccasin tracks of Le Renard Subtil and Magua, and actually to turn a rivulet from its course, and discover in its bed, the traces of their enemies.

The author has been led into these extravagances by the authority of Mr Heckewelder. It is visible in the whole narrative of this flight and pursuit. With sagacity and perceptions beyond the lot of man, the slightest impressions disclose to them the path of their enemies, and the incidents of their journey are developed with unrivalled acuteness. But in real life, such a result would be impossible. The objects interesting to an Indian are almost confined within the circle of his animal wants and desires. They are comparatively few, and his attention is therefore directed to them with undivided force. His powers of observation are invigorated by daily habit; as the sight of the sailor, and the hearing of the blind man, are sharpened by the exercise of these faculties. But an Indian can be lost in the woods, as we know from our own observation, and whole families too often perish from hunger.

Mr Heckewelder's account of the costume of the Indian jugglers is also transferred to the 'Last of the Mohicans,' and a man actually walks and growls through an Indian camp in a bear-skin, and is mistaken by the Indians for a bear. We have seen these dresses, and can assure our readers, that a man thus encased looks like anything rather than a living quadruped; and it is a poor compliment to an Indian's sagacity, to suppose he would be thus deceived.

But it is not alone in the objects and incidents of external life, that the author of these novels has consulted the book of Mr Heckewelder, instead of the book of nature. He describes beings with feelings and opinions, such as never existed in our forests. They possess elevated sentiments, pure morality, delicacy of feeling, and disinterested attachments; such as are oftener found in the pages of romance, than even in the highest

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walks of civilized life. And they equally excel in the minor virtues. 'The Pawnee,' so we are told in 'the Prairie,' 'gracefully threw his shield over one shoulder, and placing a hand on his chest, he bent his head in deference to the grey locks,' &c. An Indian bowing to old age with his hand on his breast! Such a scene would indeed be new. In the thousands we have seen, a spectacle like this never met our eyes.

We have no disposition to pursue this subject. We have derived too much pleasure from these works, and feel too deep an interest in the reputation of the author, to find the task of pointing out his errors an agreeable one. Where he has drawn from his own abundant resources, he has been eminently successful, but in his delineations of character, and in those touches of nature which form the distinctive traits of different people, he has failed. His Uncas, and his Pawnee Hardheart, for they are both of the same family, have no living prototype in our forests. They may wear leggins and moccasins, and be wrapped in a blanket or a buffalo skin, but they are civilized men, and not Indians. They have the never failing impress of civilization in the dignity of their sentiments, and in the whole spirit of their conduct and conversation. They are the Indians of Mr Heckewelder, and not the fierce and crafty warriors and hunters, that roam through our forests.

On a former occasion, we expressed our doubts of the accuracy of Mr Heckewelder's philological investigations, and of his knowledge of the Delaware language. Our opinions have been called in question; and as the school he has formed has able and zealous disciples, it is important, in the future progress of similar inquiries, that his qualifications should be rigidly examined, and his labors properly appreciated. With these views, we annex a critical examination of a part of the vocabulary appended to his work; and if we are not greatly deceived, it will be manifest, that his acquaintance with the language was superficial, and that little confidence can be placed in the process he adopts, or in the conclusions he attains. In fact, there is a visible confusion in his ideas and a looseness in his translations, utterly incompatible with that severity of research and exactness of knowledge, which give to investigations into the philosophy of language, their principal value.

That we are warranted in these remarks, will, we think, appear from the following examination of some of the words and phrases appended to Mr Heckewelder's observations on the Delaware language.

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N'gaúwi, 'I drink.' This should be *n'gówe*, and means, 'I sleep.'

N'wachpácheli, 'I awake.' This is a Munsee word. In Delaware it is *n'doghchéla*, 'I awake.'

N'papommissi, 'I walk.' This is a Munsee word, and means 'I am walking about.' The Delaware word for 'I walk,' is *n'baupomúskaw*.

N'mamentschi, 'I rejoice.' This is Munsee. In Delaware it is *n'oldun'doom*.

N'dachwil, 'I swim.' This should be spelt *n'das'chewil*.

N'nanepauwi, 'I stand.' This is Munsee, and means 'I stand in different places.' In Delaware, *n'epí* means 'I stand.'

N'schiweléndam, 'I am sorry.' This word is Munsee, and is pronounced *n'gewalun'dum*. In Delaware it is *n'jealun'dum*.

N'nipitine, 'I have the tooth-ache.' This should be *n'wepeteéne*.

N'schawússi, 'I am weak.' This should be *n'jow'see*.

N'túppocu, 'I am wise.' There is no such word in the Delaware. It should be *n'lup'po*.

N'nanólhand, 'I am lazy.' This word means, 'I am always lazy.' *N'ólehund*, is 'I am lazy.'

Gótschemunk, 'Go out of the house.' The word is *gotschémink*, and means 'out' only. To express 'go out,' they must say *gotsh'emink awl*, 'out go' or rather 'move.'

Ickalli aal, 'Away with you.' *Aal* or *awl* signifies 'to move,' whether going or coming and *ickalli* is 'there.'

N'nipauwi, 'Stop there.' This is Munsee, and means 'stand there.' In Delaware it is *nenepaúe*, 'there stand.'

Undachúal, 'Come here.' This should be *won'dach awl*, 'this way' or 'that way' (indicated by pointing) 'move.'

Tauwúnni, 'Open the door, lid,' &c. This is Munsee, and means 'open it.' In Delaware, *tunkshánee k'paúhoon*, signifies 'open the door.'

Pisellissu, 'Soft.' This means 'shrivelled.' *Tóka* is 'soft.'

Kulupatschi, 'Otherwise, on the other hand, else, however.' *K'quilap'djee*, is the word intended, and it is used when anything happens contrary to expectation, as if a man arrives by one road, when he is expected by another.

Nahaliwi, *Eiyeliwi*, 'Both,' (of them.) The first word is intended for a Delaware word,

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but it should be written *nauhalé*, and means 'notwithstanding'; as, 'I will do it notwithstanding it is wrong.' There is no such word in Delaware or Munsee as *eiyeliwi;* the word meant is *aléwe*, 'both.' *A'lee* is the Delaware word for 'both.'

Áttáne léwi, 'It is not true.' This is Munsee. It should be *mut'ta ne láee.*

Alla gaski lewi, 'It cannot be true.' This is neither Munsee nor Delaware. It should be *mut'ta gus'ki láee*, 'Not can be true.'

Bischi, 'It is so.' *Pish'e* is the proper orthography.

N'wingallauwi, 'I like to hunt.' This is Munsee. It is in Delaware *n'wingaulaúe.*

N'sching'i mikemósi, 'I don't like to work.' It means, 'I hate to work.'

N'winginammen, 'I like it.' This means, 'It is pleasing to the sight.' From *n'win'ge*, 'I like,' and *n'áman*, 'I see.'

N'mechquihn, 'I have a cold, cough.' This is Munsee. It is in Delaware *n'oquéena*, 'I have a cough.'

Undach lennemáuwil, 'Reach it to me.' This is Munsee.

N'schauwihilla, 'I am weak, faint.' This is Munsee. It should be *n'jauéhela*, which means, 'I am wearied with exertion.' 'I am weak' is *n'jow'see.*

N'daptessi, 'I sweat.' This is Munsee. It is in Delaware *n'daupteck'see.*

N'dágotschi, 'I am cold, freezing,' &c. It is 'I am cold.'

N'dellennówi, 'I am a man.' This should be *n'dunnow'e.*

N'dochquéwi, 'I am a woman.' *N'dochquáe.*

N'dam'andommen, 'I feel.' This means, 'I feel it.'

Lécheen, 'To exist, breathe,' &c. This word is never used by itself.

Ili klehelécheʔ 'Do you draw breath yet?' A Delaware would not thus express himself. He would say, *Quiaúque hutch'k'lehellého?* 'Yet you live?'

Lehelécheʔ ili nitis N. N.? 'Does my favorite friend N. N. yet draw breath?' This expression would not be used by a Delaware.

Gooch ili lehelécheuʔ 'Does your father yet draw breath?' A Delaware would say, *Kooh'hutch quiaúque lehellaháoʔ* 'Your father yet live?'

Gáhawees ili lehelecheuʔ 'Does your mother draw breath yet?' *Gáhawees* is neither Delaware nor Munsee. *Kaúhaas* is 'your mother.'

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Wáchelemi, 'Afar off.' Munsee. It should be *o'helemé*.

Péchuat, 'Near, nigh.'
Pechuwiwi, 'Near (not far off).'
Pechútschi, 'Near.'
} *Péchuat*, in English orthography, *páhowut*, is 'near.' *Pahoótshe* is 'nearer,' and *pahotit'e* is 'very near.' *Pechuwiwi* is Munsee.

Älige, 'if so, nevertheless.' The word meant is *oléka*.

Yu undachqui! 'This way,' &c. *Yu* is 'well,' or an affirmative. *Undáchqui*, properly *wondoc'que*, is 'this way,' or 'that way.' A Delaware would use it, when he said, 'You go this way,' 'you go that way,' and would indicate which by his gestures.

Ickalli úndachqui! 'Still further on that way.' *Ickálle* has already been stated to be 'there,' and *wondoc'que* to be 'this way,' or 'that way.' It is used when a person is seeking anything, and another wishes to tell him he is wrong, and must look elsewhere. If he were required to look farther, in the same direction, he would be told, *Ickawleétshe*.' If to one side or the other, *Wondaquétshe*, the speaker pointing in the proper direction.

Wullih, 'Yonder!' The proper word is *wollé*, 'yonder.'

Wullih teh! 'Beyond that.' *Wollé tá*, 'yonder there.'

Tauwihilla, 'Sunk, it has sunk.' Incorrect. *Qu'taíhila* is 'sunk.'

Gachpallátam, 'Let us go out and go on shore.' *Gaupaútam* is 'Let us go ashore.' *Gaupallaútam*, 'Let us take him out.' *Gaupautoótum*, 'Let us take it out.'

Pusik! 'Embark (ye).' *Poóseckw'* is the word.

N'petalogálgun! 'I am sent as a messenger.' This is not Delaware. It should be *n'betaloogaúlook*, 'I am sent,' from *n'baat'*, 'I come,' and *aloogaúkuna*, 'a hireling.'

N'sagimaum petalogalgun yu petschi, 'My chief has sent me as a messenger to you.' *Yu* is 'well,' and *pet'schi* is an affirmative merely. The translation, after correcting it as above, is 'My chief has sent me, well, yes.' No Delaware would use the expression.

Sedpook! 'At day-break.' The word is *set'pook*, and means, 'early in the morning.' *Petaúpun*, is 'day-break,' from *paó*, 'come,' and *opun'*, 'day.'

N'dellgun lachpi gatta páame, 'I was told to hasten, and return quickly.' Munsee. Literally, 'He told me quick, try, return.'

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N'mauwi pihm, 'I am going to take a sweat.' Munsee. The expression in Delaware is *n'maúee peemoóa*, 'I go to sweat.'

N'dapi pihm. The same.

N'dapellauwi, 'I am come from hunting.' In Delaware this is *n'dapallaúe.*

Notameschican, 'A fishing spear, gig,' &c. This is not so. It should be *notamenzeékun.*

Achquaneman, 'A bush net.' This is incorrect. It is a Munsee word, and is applied to any kind of net. *Okoneékun* is the Delaware word for 'net.'

Gophammen, } 'To shut up anything close, a door,' &c.
K'páhammen, } Neither of these words is ever used by a Delaware in this form. When connected with a proper person or object, they are both used in a different form.

K'pahi, 'Shut the door.' This is wrong. The proper translation is, 'shut it.' It may be applied to a door, trunk, or to anything, to which 'shut' may be applied. *K'pah'i k'paúhoon* means 'shut the door.'

K'paskhamen, 'To plug up tight.' This word is never used by itself, as observed of *gopham'men.* The proper meaning of the word, intended to be used here, is to 'shut with something soft.' From *k'pah'i*, 'I shut it,' and *sees'ko*, 'mud.' *N'gupskom'men*, 'I shut it,' (with something soft, as mud, moss, &c.)

Tauwun, 'Open the door.' } There is no such word
Tauwunni, 'Open the door for me.' } as *tauwun.* *Tauwun'nee*, is 'open,' and is applied whenever our word 'open' is applied. It is Munsee. *Tunkshaáne* is the Delaware word for 'open.' *Tunkshaáne k'paúhoon*, 'Open the door.' *Tunkshaánemoi k'paúhoon*, 'Open the door for me.'

N'tschu! 'My friend.' }
N'tschútti, 'Dear, beloved friend.' } *Netshoó* is a 'female friend,' and is applied by one female to another, when speaking to her friend. When speaking of her female friend to a third person, she says, *netshoos.* A man, when speaking of his male friend, says *nétees*, 'my friend.' When speaking to his male friend, he says, *n'jeú.* *N'jeute áte*, spelt by Mr Heckewelder *n'tschutti*, is used by a man, when speaking to his male friend, and means, 'my dear friend.'
Nitis, 'Confidential friend.' }

Pélelaan, 'It begins to rain.' The word is *pátelaen.*

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Achwi sokelaan, 'It rains very hard.' *Achwi* is Munsee, and means 'much' or 'very.'

Peelhácquon, 'It thunders.' This is incorrect. The word is *Paathoc'quon*, 'It begins to thunder,' from *Paö*, 'to come,' and *hoc'quon*, 'thunder.'

M'chaquiéchen, 'The streams are up.' This is not Delaware. An Indian would say, *M'hauque'hun*. This is understood by them to mean, 'The river is high,' although river, which is *sépoo*, is not expressed. But when used in the plural, this omission is always supplied, and they say, *M'hauquéhunno sépooa*, 'The rivers are high.'

Choppécat, 'The water is deep.' This is Munsee. In Delaware *heet'que* means 'deep,' but is used only with reference to water, and is thus understood, without adding *sépoo*, 'river,' or *nébé*, 'water.'

Meetschi higihelleu, 'The waters are falling.' 'Already falling.' Applied only to a stream.

Sichelleu meétschi. 'The waters have run off.' Not so.

Jatehúppecat, 'Shallow water.' This is Munsee. In Delaware *ga'hun* is 'shallow water.' Mr Heckewelder makes two words, and calls the former shallow, and the latter very low water.

Bulpécat, 'Deep dead water,' &c. There is no such word in the language. 'Dead water' is *K'lumpáhun*, and this is probably meant by the next word,

Clampéching, which Mr Heckewelder calls 'a dead running stream,' &c.

Kschächan, 'The wind.' *Kaash'hiuk* is 'wind,' and *k'shaúhun* means, 'It blows hard.' Which of these two words was intended to be written, does not appear.

Ta úndchen? 'From whence blows the wind?' This is Munsee, and literally means, 'Where wind?' In Delaware it would be *Ta hutsh won'hun*, 'Where wind?' from *ta*, 'where,' *hutsh*, a word used in all interrogations, *won'gee*, 'from,' *k'shaúhun*, 'wind;' the first and last syllables of which words are joined, and from *won'hun*, which implies the course of the wind.

Kschiechpécat, 'Clear water, &c. This is Munsee, and means 'water that has been muddy or dirty and becomes clear.' Never applied to a stream. *Wootup'pocut* is 'clear water.'

Achgumhocquat, 'Cloudy.' Munsee. *Kumhoc'quot*, is 'cloudy.'

Packenum, 'Dark.' It should be, *pees'ka*.

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Pekenink, 'In the dark.' This is not correct. It should be *en'daupeeskáke.*

Pisgeu, 'It is dark.' Properly *Peeskáo.*

Pisg'eke, 'When it becomes dark.' This should be *Peeskaka*, and means, 'at dark.'

Nanni, nan, 'That.' There are two words for 'that.' One, *nanné*, applied to animate, and another, *nenné*, applied to inanimate objects. *Nan* is Munsee.

M'biak, 'A whale.' We know of no such word. *M'hing'wamaak* is 'a large fish.'

Yuh'allauwitan, 'Come, let us go a hunting.' The proper word is *Alleneétum*, and it means, 'Well, let us hunt.'

Nelema n'metenaxiwi, 'I am not yet ready.' This word should be written *n'matenaxé.*

K'metenaxi yucki? 'Are you now ready?' The word *yucki* should be written *yook'we*, and the expression is affirmative, and not interrogative, 'You are now ready.'

Nelema n'gischambelaniwash, 'I have not yet done tying up my pack.' *Neléma*, is, 'not yet,' *n'gisch'ambila*, is, 'I have tied him,' and is applicable to animate objects only. It cannot be applied to a pack. *Niwash*, is a Munsee word, signifying 'my load.' In Delaware, *N'weeoshóne*, is 'my load.' The literal translation of this compound of Munsee and Delaware is, 'Not yet I have tied him my load.'

Shuck soketaaw gachtauwi, 'But it will rain.' *Shuck* is 'but,' and *sókelaun* is 'to rain,' and a Delaware, after adding a proper termination to the verb, would say no more. *Gachtaúwe* signifies 'a desire to do anything.' *N'gachtaumeétsee*, 'I desire to eat.' If a Delaware wished to say, 'But it will rain,' he would thus express himself, *Shook' sókelauntsh.*

To hatsch gemauikeneen? 'At what place shall we encamp?' This should be, *Tatsh'hutsh kemaieekáneen*, 'Where shall we encamp?'

W'diungoakhannink, 'At the white-oak run.' This is not Delaware.

Meechek achsinink, 'At the big rock.' *Maátshe* is 'already,' *aughsún* is a 'stone,' and *ink* the mark of locality. The literal translation of this phrase, after correcting the orthography, is 'already at the stone.'

Gauwahenink, 'At the place of the fallen timbers.' *Kauoghhúninк* is the word intended to be written. It is formed from *taúhun*, 'wood,' and *kaueéheela*, 'to fall by wind,' and it here means, 'at the wind fall.'

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Yapéwi, 'On the river bank.' There is no such word. *Yaupaáe* means the 'shore' or 'margin of a pond, creek, river,' &c. 'On' is not expressed here.

Gamink, 'On the other side of the river.' The word is *kaúmink*, and means, 'on the other side of any collection of water.'

Eli shingeek, 'On the flat.' *Elé* is 'along;' *shin'ga*, means 'level land,' and is principally applied to river bottom; *k*, or *ik*, is the mark of locality. The words mean, 'along the bottom.'

Fekinink, 'In the woods.' A Delaware would not suffix the *ink* here, because it is not applied so generally. It denotes a particular place.

Pockhapockink, 'At the creek between the two hills.' This is not Delaware. Those ideas could not be expressed by one word, in that language.

Menatheink, 'On the island.' This is wrong. *Menawtáyoonk* is 'island,' with the mark of locality.

Sakunk, 'At the outlet of the river.' This should be *endasákoóweek*, 'at the mouth of a river.'

Atta n'palleho, 'No, I missed him.' We know of no such word as *atta*. *Matta* is a Munsee negative. *N'bal'haú* is 'I missed him.'

Biesch knewa, 'Then you did see one.' This is Munsee. In Delaware it would be *Piohée k'náyau*, 'Then you saw him.

Nachen n'newa achluch, 'Three times I saw deer.' This should be *Náhun naóne autoókaak*, 'Thrice I saw deer;' the sentence literally translated, 'Thrice I saw him deer.'

Quonna eet k'pun gummachtil, 'Perhaps your powder is bad.' *Quonnaeet* cannot be separated. As the sentence now stands it is, 'Perhaps your powder bad.' It should be *Quon'neet k'pun'gum machtut'so*.

Na leu, 'That is true.' This is incorrect. It is Munsee, and means, 'Yes true.' A Delaware would say, *Nat'ta n'láho*.

Achischingi packteu, 'It scarcely took fire.' *Achtsching'e* is 'scarcely,' and *packtáo* means 'sudden noise,' like the discharge of a gun.

Achtuchuik wennan, 'Are there plenty of deer, where you were?' This is not Delaware. It should be *Achtookeéka hutsh, way'nun*, 'Are deer plenty, where you came from.'

Atta ta husca, 'Not a great many.' Not Delaware. It should be *takoó*, 'not,' *whooská*, 'many very.'

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Naugutti schuck n'peenhalle, 'I saw but few tracks.' This is wrong. *Naungoóte* means, 'sparsely, here and there;' *shook* is 'but;' and *n'peenhaúle* is, 'I tracked him.'

Biesch n'peenhalle mauchau, 'I tracked but one.' This is not Delaware.

Shuck n'dallemons mehane, 'But my dog.' *Mehane* should be *mor'kona*, and the phrase literally translated is, 'But my animal dog' *N'dal'lemoons* is generally prefixed to the names of domestic animals.

Palliuchaschiha, 'Drove him off.' This is not Delaware.

N'pachkhameu gachtawi, 'I want to get bled.' A Delaware would say, *N'gachtáuwee pack hamaúké.*

Woak n'nipitine, 'And have the tooth-ache.' It means, 'And my tooth aches.'

Witschhemil, 'Help me.' This word is confined to assistance rendered to a person's pecuniary concerns, labor, &c. It is never applied to relief from pain, sickness, &c.

Mileen, 'To give, the giving.' This word is not in the language.

N'milgun, 'It was given to me.' This should be translated, 'He gave me.'

Milo, 'Give him.' This should be *Méla.*

Milatamo, 'Let us give him.' This should be *Mélaútum*, 'Let us give him.' *Mélautum móke*, 'Let us give them.'

Seke, 'Hush.' *Sáh* is the proper word.

Eekhackewitschik mamachtagewak, 'The nations are warring against each other.' This means literally, 'the tribes are fighting.' The word translated 'nation,' is the one applied to the various Indian tribes.

Napenaltowaktsché, 'They will be scalping each other.' This word means, 'They will pursue one another.' There is nothing here which indicates scalping.

Lennape n'hackay, 'I am an Indian.' This means merely 'Delaware, my body.'

Taktani schuck n'tschupinawe, 'I don't know; but I mistrust him.' 'I do not know, but he appears strange to me,' or 'is a stranger.' There is nothing implying mistrust.

Gichgemotket quónna, 'Probably he is a thief.' *Kemookháo* is, 'He steals,' and *Gichemothet*, or properly *Kehkehmoótkaat*, is, 'He is in the habit of stealing.'

N'gemote muke n'dallemons nechnaunges, 'My horse has been stolen from me.' *N'dallemoons n'gemootemook'haan neghenaoon'gaas.* This is the Delaware for, 'My horse has been

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stolen from me.' After correcting the orthography and the relative position of the words, the sentence given by Mr Heckewelder, would be, 'He stole my horse.'

Wichwinggi gemotgewak Mengwe, 'The Mingoes are very fond of stealing.' After correcting the orthography, the proper translation is, 'They are fond of stealing, the Mingoes.'

Yuh amachgidieu, 'They are vagabonds.' This is Munsee, and means 'Well, he does bad.' If a Delaware wished to say 'They are bad people,' he would thus express himself, *Amut'shee lus'sowuk.*

Schiki a na Lenno, 'That is a fine pretty man.' This is not Delaware, but bad Munsee.

Siquonne lappitsch knewi lehellecheyan! 'In the spring you will see me again, if I am alive.' This should be *sekon'-getsh*, 'next spring,' *lap'pee*, 'again,' *k'naáe*, 'you will see me,' *leh'eleaúne*, 'if I am alive. *Siquonne*, properly *sékonne* is the 'past spring,' from *sékon*, 'spring,' and *nee*, 'past.' The mark of the future, *tsh*, which should be applied to *sékon*, to indicate the 'next spring,' is erroneously applied to the adverb.

Yuh shuck mámschali! 'Well! but do remember me.' *Mamschaúle* means 'Think of me now.' It should be *Mamschaulemee*, 'Think of me hereafter.'

Natsch leu, 'It shall be so.' *Nutsh*, which is the word intended to be given here, is the mark of the future merely, and not a verb.

N'uuntschímke, 'I have been called.' The word is, *N'wenjeem'ka*, 'I am called.' *N'wenjeemkáhumb!* 'I was called.'

N'dochquéum, 'My wife.' This word means 'my female relation. *Ne hoúshum* is 'my wife,' from *nee*, 'mine,' *hauooshésis*, 'an old woman.'

Quanna eet auween gatta napenalgun! 'Perhaps somebody is coming to attack and scalp us.' This should be rendered, after correcting it, 'Perhaps some person wishes to come and attack us.' The idea of scalping is not conveyed here.

Wulli ta pepannik! 'Yonder they are coming.' There is no such word as *papannik*. It should be *Wulli paoótsheek*, 'Yonder they come.'

Papomiscuak? 'Are they on foot?' This word is in the plural number of the imperative mood, and means 'Walk about.' *Pamuskaóoke hutsh'* is 'Do they walk?'

Gachtonalukguntsh matta uchschimuiénge, 'We shall be at-

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tacked if we do not make off with ourselves.' *Gachtonalukguntsch* is a word made without authority, like many others in the collection. The author probably intended to form *Kuttoonalookoónaak*, which, from its elements, would mean, 'They desire to attack us.' The mark of the future should not be added. The residue of the sentence should be *Aléke w'sheemweétum*, 'Well let us run away.'

Mattapewiwak nik schwannakwak, 'The white people are a rascally set of beings.' This is Munsee, and properly translated means *Mattapawéwauk*, 'bad people,' *nik*, 'they,' *schuanaukwak*, 'whites.'

Pennan won, 'Look at that one.' *Pennan'* is 'see' or 'look at,' and *won* is any animate being.

Mamanúxu, 'He is angry.' *Manoónxee* is 'He is angry.' *Mamanoónxu* means 'He has been angry some time, and is yet angry.'

Pihmtónheu, 'He has a crooked mouth.' This means, 'He makes a wry mouth,' from *pelema*, 'crooked,' *p'tóne*, 'mouth,' and *háo*, 'to do' or 'make a thing.' *Pehm'tonea* means 'He has a crooked mouth.'

Ilau, 'He is a great war captain.' *E'lau* means 'a person who cannot be hit by a bullet.' It is one of the superstitious notions of the Indians, and the exemption is supposed to be derived from dreams. The word is a substantive, and there is no affirmation implied. Nor has it any relation to the qualities of a war chief. A person may be an *e'lau*, who never saw a gun and never went to war. *E'loiyo* means he is an *e'lau*.

Sakimau, 'He is a chief.' The word means 'chief' only.

Kschamehellátan, 'Let us run together.' The word merely implies 'Let us run.'

In the preceding corrections, the duplication of the vowel indicates its long sound, unless marked by a *diæresis*, when each vowel is to be pronounced.

It will be seen by our remarks hereafter, that when the meaning is rendered by *is*, *does*, &c. the auxilaries are used with much freedom. Our object has been to point out some of the prominent errors of Mr Heckewelder, not to give an exact notion of the idiom of the language. We have attempted this in the concluding part of the present article.

The structure of the Indian languages is a subject of interesting speculation. There is an intimate connexion between

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the powers and process of the mind, and the means by which its operations are disclosed. Without adopting, to its full extent, the fanciful theory of the author of 'Hermes,' by which he accounts for those peculiarities, which characterize different languages, we may yet concede, that powerful causes, physical and moral, operating upon the condition and disposition of a people, may give a particular direction to their thoughts, and a particular modification to the vehicle, by which they are conveyed. After all the laudatory remarks, which have been made on the subject of the Indian languages, it will be found, that they partake essentially of the character of the people, who use them. They are generally harsh in the utterance, inartificial in their construction, indeterminate in their application, and incapable of expressing a vast variety of ideas, particularly those which relate to invisible objects. Curious coïncidences no doubt exist between these tongues and those of the eastern world, but discrepancies are also found, marking their different origin, and indicative of the circumstances and mental habits of their possessors. We have before observed, that the Indians are more prone to action than reflection, and this trait in their character has produced a corresponding effect upon their modes of speech. They employ few abstract terms, because their attention is directed to the visible objects around them, and to the relations, which these bear to themselves. A similar tendency existed in the Latin language, and led to the complaint of Cicero, that it was unfit for metaphysical investigations.

The conflicting statements of Roger Williams and Dr Edwards respecting the word *father*, in the Mohegan language, may be easily reconciled by adverting to this peculiar feature of the Indian character. The former asserts, that *osh** signifies 'father;' while the latter earnestly maintains, that this word is unknown in the tongue, and that the Mohegans can only say *n'osh*, 'my father,' *k'osh*, 'thy father.'

Now there is no doubt, but this word *n'och* is a compound term formed from the pronominal sign *n'* 'I,' and *och*, 'father,' and that if it became necessary for one of these Indians to express the idea conveyed by our word *father*, he would use the word *Och*. But this would require a process of abstraction,

* This word is thus spelt by Roger Williams. The true pronunciation is the guttural sound, familiar in the Irish, Gaelic, and several of the continental languages, but unknown in the English language.

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rarely employed by them. The different degrees of consanguinity are almost always expressed by terms denoting actual subsisting relations.

In Delaware *n'och*, 'my father,' *n'och*, 'thy father,' *ohul*, 'his father,' *n'gahās*, 'my mother,' *n'gwese*, 'my son.' And in the Chippewa *n'osa*, 'my father,' *neengah*, 'my mother.'

That Dr Edwards greatly overrated his own knowledge o the Mohegan is evident, from his strange assertion, that there are 'no adjectives in all their language, unless we reckon numerals, and such words as *all*, *many*, &c. adjectives. Of adjectives, which express the quality of substances, I do not find, that they have any.' And Horne Tooke has appealed to this authority, in support of his speculations concerning the origin and use of this part of speech. But in this instance, as in some others, this acute philologer seems not to be aware, that we may trace etymologies so far, as to lose sight of the existing principles, which regulate the form and application of languages.

The Mohegan is a dialect, closely allied to the Delaware, and they are both branches of the great Algonquin stock, and cognate with the Chippewa, Ottawa, Shawnese, Potawatamie, Miami, Kickapoo, Menomonie, &c. The general structure of these various dialects is the same, and there is no important syntactical formation in one, which is not found in all. It is well known, that adjectives abound in all these languages, which have been investigated, and it would be strange indeed, if they were wanting in this affiliated dialect alone. But it is not difficult to discover the source of Dr Edwards's error, and it may be referred to a principle pervading these languages, of the extent of which he was apparently ignorant. The power of coälescence, if it may be so termed, possessed by the Indian languages is one of their most extraordinary features. Words, and parts of words, are detached and attached, so as to form others, conveying simple or complex ideas, and sometimes without any apparent connexion between the new word and its roots. Attributives, denoting qualities only, without reference to time or affirmation, are as abundant in these as in other languages. But they are not as often used; because their application is more abstract than comports with the mental habits of the Indians. It is seldom necessary for them to talk about a good horse, or a fat buck, or a brave warrior. But when these or similar topics are discussed, the good

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horse, and the fat buck, and the brave warrior are identified, and assertions are made concerning them, which are understood, rather from the idiom of the language, than from the expressions employed. The auxiliary verbs are not used, and simple affirmation must be frequently deduced from the collocation of the words, the manner of the speaker, the context, or some other circumstance. An Indian cannot say, *he is strong*, *he is tall*, &c. but he says, *he strong*, *he tall*, &c. and the power of coälescence enables him to attach the mark of the past and future time to the adjective; as if we were to say in English, *he tall heretofore*, *he tall hereafter*.

These particles are,

	Past time.	Future time.
In Delaware,	*p*	*tsh.*
In Chippewa,	*bun*	*gah.*

And they may also be applied to substantives, pronouns, and we believe to every other part of speech.

In the Delaware, the duplication of the pronoun is said to be equivalent to the verbal assertion, as

*N'*DOLEMOUS, *my horse.*
*Nee n'*DOLEMOUS, literally, *my my horse*, and understood to mean, *it is my horse.*
*Nee n'*DOLEMOUSENAP, literally, *my my horse heretofore*, but understood to mean, *it was my horse.*
*Nee n'*DOLEMOUSEENTSH, / *Neetsh n'*DOLEMOUS, literally, *my my horse hereafter*, but understood to mean, *it will be my horse.*

We incline to think, however, that this repetition of the pronoun is only to render the declaration more emphatic, as when the right of the party is doubted or denied, and we say in English *it is* my horse, with a particular stress upon the affirmation; but that this does not affect the syntax of the language. We have yet to learn therefore from what peculiar circumstances an assertion is inferred, when it becomes necessary to describe a substance or its quality, and there is no verb to denote the idea. Further inquiries may develope this process, by which an Indian distinguishes between 'a strong man' and 'a man strong,' when the latter expression is intended to include an affirmation. We at first supposed, that it depended upon the relative situation of the two words, but this opinion has been shaken, rather than fortified, by further investigations. In English the conversion of one part of speech into another, is a familiar operation; but the composition of the

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sentence, and sometimes the accent, prevent any confusion of ideas. Our invariable arrangement and our auxiliary verbs and prepositions define the meaning to be attached to those words, which may be variously employed; as *like*, which is sometimes a verb, active and neuter, and sometimes a substantive, adjective, or adverb. But auxiliary verbs are wholly wanting in the Indian languages, and prepositions are very sparingly used.

We shall insert two other examples, both in the Delaware, of the use of these verbal adjectives and verbal substantives.

	Literal Meaning.	Meaning, as probably understood.
Sookelaun,	*rain*,	*it rains*,
Sookelaun *oop*,	*rain heretofore*,	*it rained*,
Sookelaun *tsh*,	*rain hereafter*,	*it will rain*,
Sookelaun *au*,	*rain perhaps*,	*it may rain*,
Sookelaun *oop* AU,	*rain heretofore perhaps*,	*it may have rained*,
Sookelaun *gad*,	*if rain*,	*if it should rain*,
Opa,	*white*,	*it is white*,
Opa *p*,	*white heretofore*,	*it was white.*
Opa *tsh*,	*white hereafter*,	*it will be white.*
Opa *u*,	*white perhaps*,	*it may be white.*
Opa *p* AU,	*perhaps white heretofore*,	*it may have been white.*
Opa *ka*,	*if white*,	*if it be white.*
Opa KE *pona*,	*if white heretofore*,	*if it have been white.*
Opa K *atsh*,	*if white hereafter*,	*if it shall be white.*

K is sometimes a definitive, and, suffixed to an adjective, restricts its application.

Opa*k*,	*the white*,	*that which is white.*
Opa *k*UP,	*the white heretofore*,	*that which was white.*

Hutsh always denotes interrogation.

Opa hutsh? *Is it white?*

Wug, the animate, and *wun*, the inanimate mark of plurality may be suffixed to adjectives.

Animate.

Miskwizzo, *red.* Miskwizze*wug*, *they red.*

Inanimate.

Miskwau, *red.* Miskwau*wun*, *they red.*

The principles, which regulate this use and conversion of the adjective, undoubtedly led to the erroneous opinion advanced by Dr Edwards, that this part of speech was wanting in the Mohegan. We have made some inquiry into this matter, and have the authority of three educated men of the tribe for saying, that adjectives exist in that dialect; and we have been furnished with the following among other specimens.

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	Animate.	Inanimate.
Good,	wuwehi,	woonut.
Bad,	m'tuthow,	m'tut.
White,	waupauyook,	waupauyuk.
Black,	sakkauyook,	nauthkauyuk.
Red,	mukwayook,	mukwayuk.
Green,	shuskwayook,	uskuthtwayuk.

The opinion, which has been so generally prevalent, that the substantive verb is not found in the Indian languages rests in some measure upon the authority of Dr Edwards, but has been adopted by succeeding writers. We took occasion in a former number to controvert this opinion, but as our conclusions have been called in question, we shall briefly review the subject.

We have shown the manner in which assertions are made in the Indian languages; and such expressions as *horse mine, rifle good, I hungry,* are continually recurring. This anomaly could not but excite the attention of those, who were investigating these modes of speech, and no doubt led to the conclusion, too hastily adopted, that the substantive verb was unknown in them. So far as this verb may be employed to denote simple existence, we believe it is found in all the aboriginal dialects. And it would be as just to deny, that they have any verbs indicating action and possession, because the words *do* and *have* are not used as auxiliaries to other verbs, as it is to deny the existence of the substantive verb, so far as being is implied by it, because it does not perform in combination the office of asserting or affirming.

By the ladies of the family of Mr Johnston, of the Sault Ste Marie, we have been furnished with the conjugation of this verb in the Chippewa, and we shall submit it to our readers, merely observing, that to the accomplishments of civilized life, they add a perfect knowledge of this, their maternal dialect.

IAU, verb animate, *To Be.*

INDICATIVE MOOD.

1. *Present Tense.*

Singular.

1.	Neen DIAU,	*I am.*
2.	Kee DIAU,	*Thou art.*
3.	IAU,	*He* or *she is.*

Plural.

1.	Kee DIAU min,	*We are* (inclu.)
	Nin DIAU min,	*We are* (exclu.)
2.	Kee DIAU-m,	*Ye are.*
3.	IAU wug,	*They are.*

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2. *Imperfect Tense.*

Singular.

1.	Nin gee IAU,	*I was.*
2.	Kee gee IAU,	*Thou wast.*
3.*		*He* or *she was.*

Plural.

1.	Kee gee IAU min,	*We were* (inclu.)
	Nin gee IAU min,	*We were* (exclu.)
2.	Kee gee IAU-m,	*Ye were.*
3.	IAU wug,	*They were.*

3. *Perfect and Pluperfect Tense.*

Singular.

1.	Nin gee IAU naubun,	*I have been.*
2.	Kee gee IAU naubun,	*Thou hast been.*
3.	IAU bun,	*He* or *she has been.*

Plural.

1.	Kee gee IAU minaubun,	*We have been* (in.)
	Nin gee IAU minaubun,	*We have been* (ex.)
2.	Kee gee IAU-m waubun,	*Ye have been.*
3.	Kee IAU buneeg,	*They have been.*

4. *First Future Tense.*

Singular.

1.	Nin guh IAU,	*I shall be.*
2.	Kee guh IAU,	*Thou*, &c.
3.	Tah IAU,	*He* or *she*, &c.

Plural.

1.	Kee guh IAU min,	*We shall*, &c. (in.)
	Nin guh IAU min,	*We shall*, &c. (ex.)
2.	Kee guh IAU-m,	*Ye shall*, &c.
3.	Tah IAU wug,	*They shall*, &c.

5. *Second Future Tense.*

Singular.

1.	Nin guh gee IAU naubun,	*I shall have been.*
2.	Kee guh gee IAU naubun,	*Thou*, &c.
3.	Tah gee IAU bun,	*He* or *she*, &c.

Plural.

1.	Kee guh gee IAU minaubun,	*We shall*, &c. (in.)
	Nee guh gee IAU minaubun,	*We*, &c. (ex.)
2.	Kee guh gee IAU-m wunbun,	*Ye*, &c.
3.	Tah gee IAU buneeg,	*They*, &c.

IMPERATIVE MOOD.

Singular.

1.	Nin gua IAU binuh,	*Let me be.*
2.	IAUn binuh,	*Be thou.*
3.	Tah IAU binuh,	*Let him* or *her be.*

* Having some doubts respecting the form of the pronoun here, we have omitted it.

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Plural.

1.	IAU dau binuh,	*Let us be* (in.)
	Nin guh IAU-min binuh,	*Let us be* (ex.)
2.	IAU yuek binuh,	*Be ye.*
3.	Tah IAU wug binuh,	*Let them be.*

POTENTIAL MOOD.

Present Tense.

Singular.

1.	Nin dau IAU,	*I may be.*
2.	Kee dau IAU,	*Thou*, &c.
3.	Tah IAU,	*He*, &c.

Plural.

1.	Kee dau IAU min,	*We*, &c. (in.)
	Nin dau IAU min,	*We*, &c. (ex.)
2.	Kee dau IAUm,	*Ye*, &c.
3.	Tah IAU wug,	*They*, &c.

Imperfect Tense.

Nin dau IAU koossamau, *I might be.*

Perfect and Pluperfect Tense.

Nin dau gee IAU bun-koossamau, *I may have been.*

SUBJUNCTIVE MOOD.

Present Tense.

Singular.

1.	Kishpin IAU yaun,	*If I be.*
2.	Kishpin IAU yun,	*If thou be.*
3.	Kishpin IAUd,	*If he be.*

Plural.

1.	Kishpin IAU yung,	*If we be* (in.)
	Kishpin IAU yong,	*If we be* (ex.)
2.	Kishpin IAU yag,	*If ye be.*
3.	Kishpin IAU waud,	*If they be.*

The imperfect tense of this mood is the same as the preceding, except that the particle *we* is interposed between the conjunction and verb.

Perfect and Pluperfect Tense.

Singular.

1.	Kishpin IAU yaumbaun,	*If I have been.*
2.	Kishpin IAU yumbun,	*If thou*, &c.
3.	Kishpin IAU pun,	*If he*, &c.

Plural.

1.	Kishpin IAU yun ge bun,	*If we*, &c. (in.)
	Kishpin IAU yaun ge bun,	*If we*, &c. (ex.)
2.	Kishpin IAU ya ge bun,	*If ye*, &c.
3.	Kishpin IAU wau pun,	*If they*, &c.

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The first future coincides with the preceding, except the introduction of the particle *we* between the conjunction and verb. The second future also coincides with the preceding, save the insertion of the particle *kee* between the conjunction and verb.

INFINITIVE MOOD.

Present Tense,	IAU,	*To be.*
Perfect Tense,	IAU-bun,	*To have been.*

PARTICIPLES.

Present,	IAUng,	*Being.*
Perfect,	IAUn ge bun,	*Having been.**

We are satisfied, that this verb is the root of the Delaware word *iasis*, animal, and that it is its derivitive *au*, which added to the names of persons, and to words denoting consanguinity, indicates in that language past existence or death. In the translation of the Lord's Prayer into Mohegan, the first sentence has been rendered,

Father our	*above*	*thou art.*
Naghnuh	ne spummuck	oieon.

A friend, in whose judgment and knowledge of this subject we have full confidence, has observed to us, that 'the whole tendency of the Chippewa, and in fact of the Indian languages generally, is to a system of negation. And it is only when compelled by circumstances, that the speaker is driven to the use of this verb, and when so used, full enumeration and strong emphasis are employed.'

Mr Du Ponceau has proposed as the shibboleth of this word the translation of the phrase, *I am that I am.* The selection is not a fortunate one, for the meaning of this expression is not very obvious to the mere English scholar, and there are not wanting respectable authorities, who condemn it as unmeaning. As an assertion however of independent existence, the substantive verb is here employed to convey very different ideas. It is a mere affirmative at the commencement of the sentence, while at its termination it becomes in fact a substantive. A

* We have inserted the above conjugation, as we received it, satisfied of the general form and use of the verb, but not altogether convinced, that the various modifications here given are familiar to the Indians. They are probably approximations toward the English translations, and not parallels to them; and like many similar attempts, are founded upon the artificial arrangement of other languages differing essentially in their principles and construction.

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literal translation of such phrases is frequently a difficult task; but we have been assured, that an exact version of this sentence may be given in the Chippewa. It sometimes occurs in the war and medicine songs, where the most general and often ambiguous terms are employed. On these occasions great mystery is affected, and there is reason to believe, that the initiated endeavor to form their chorusses in such a manner as to be clearly understood by those only, who have been admitted into their medicine and *wabeno* societies.

Among the Miamis it is common for a contentious or quarrelsome person to accost another contemptuously, *Jarnesheshe nakosearn*, 'What are you?' To which the other replies with proper self-respect, *Eshinkosearn*, *eshinkosearn*, literally, 'I am, I am,' but understood to mean, 'I am what I am.'

We have reason to believe, that the distinction between animate and inanimate objects is a pervading principle in all our Indian languages, and it is probably the feature, by which they are most distinctly marked. In the Chippewa its influence is constantly exerted, and we may venture to say, that *no word* is employed without reference to it. The natural distinction of genders is merged in this principle, for there are very few words, and those in almost constant use, in which the gender is indicated by any change or inflection. And it is owing to this peculiar tendency, that there is no word to express *she*, as contradistinguished from *he*; a fact which has excited much surprise among all who have made these languages their study. The pronoun *ween* in the Chippewa, and its synonymes in the other dialects of the Algonquin stock, signify, *he*, *she*, *him*, *her*. The present state of our information on this point leads us to the conclusion, that *all words*, whether verbs, nouns, pronouns, participles, or particles, must be employed with reference to the existence or non-existence of life in the object. In some dialects, trees and plants are considered as possessing life, while in others it is predicated only of animals. But wherever the line of separation may be drawn, it is visible in all.

The power of coälescence, and this principle of application to animate and inanimate objects, have occasioned the various combinations called personal forms, the conjugations of which are said to occupy *fourteen* folio pages in Zeisberger's Delaware Grammar. The term itself has been derived from the Hebrew, where the objective pronoun may be incorporated with the verb, and thus form a perfect word.

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The grammarians who have treated of our Indian languages, have fallen into the error, too common in all philological investigations, of forming their principles upon preëxisting models, and of transferring to these tongues rules of syntax, derived from, and applicable to, different 'plans of ideas.' A rigid analysis, however, will generally show, that, excepting those elements of universal grammar which are common to all tongues, because they are essential either to the objects of speech, or to their due attainment, the Indians are possessed of languages, having no affinity, either in their etymology or construction, to any others which are known to us.

There is no verb applicable to the great departments of animate and inanimate nature, which has not a form or termination indicating its proper class. Whatever may be said respecting the root of these verbs, it is in fact never used by the Indians. *Saug* is doubtless the root of the verbs *saugeau* and *saugetōn*, 'to love,' but it is never heard in this abstract form. *Au* is derived from *iau*, 'to be,' and when added to *saug*, it makes the application of the word to the class of animate objects. *Attōn* is a 'thing,' or inanimate matter, and when suffixed to the above root, the word becomes *suagetōn*, 'to love an inanimate thing.' And here it may be well to remark, that this privilege of coälescence is used with great freedom, and syllables are omitted or inserted, as they affect the euphony of the language. Harmony is thus preserved, and it is a more important consideration than we should be prepared to expect; but changes are introduced, by which the primary words are lost sight of, and these dialects are exposed to perpetual fluctuations.

Nee saugeau, signifies 'I love an animated being,' and *nee saugetōn*, 'I love an inanimate thing,' and whatever other word may be brought to coalesce with these, whether it be an adverb denoting negation or quantity, or a pronoun, or even a substantive, these changes do not constitute distinct forms of the verb, nor are they entitled to the character of separate conjugations. The verb itself is subject to no inflections. Its modal and temporal relations are expressed in these cases, as in all others, and the only change is in the addition or subtraction of an independent word, sometimes in juxtaposition, and sometimes in combination. No grammarian would think of arranging in various conjugations, phrases like these in English, 'I love you,' 'I love him,' 'I love it,' 'you love me,' 'you love us,'

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'you love them,' 'I do not love you,' &c. 'I love you much, here, there, always,' &c. And there is no difference between these, and what have been called the personal forms in our Indian languages, except the great facility, already explained, with which the latter accommodate themselves to contractions. We have some formations in strict analogy with these negative conjugations; as, *can't*, *don't*, *shan't*, &c. And if these personal forms, depending upon the change of the actor or patient, and made by the transposition of the pronoun primitive or contracted, are entitled to the consideration given to them, the conjugations of verbs may be indefinitely increased, for this principle of intimate union exerts its influence through the whole language. Such distinctions would be as useless, as they would be endless.

The process, by which the time of action and the modal affections are indicated in the Chippewa is sufficiently uniform and simple. *Neen* signifies the first person, 'I,' *keen*, the second person, 'thou,' and *ween*, the third person, 'he' or 'she'; *neenowind*, 'we,' excluding the person addressed, *keeowind*, 'we,' including the person addressed, *keeowau*, 'ye' or 'you,' *weenowau*, 'they.' And it would be perfectly intelligible to use the pronouns thus distinctly, whenever they are placed in concord with a verb. But custom has changed the arrangement and almost the form of some of these pronouns, as it has required in English the substitution of *you* for *thou*. The pronouns of the first and second person singular are invariable in their position, and admit no other change in their form, than the elision of some of their letters. They become *n* or *nee*, *k* or *kee*, as the initial sound of the next word is open or close. The third person singular of the simple affirmative form seems to be the root of the Indian verb, for when thus used, it is understood to assert something respecting a third person. The letter *o* is, however, frequently the sign of this pronoun, but whence its derivation, or what are the rules of its application, we have not yet been able to ascertain. We are inclined to think, that its use indicates the presence, as its omission does the absence, of the person spoken of.

The peculiar idiom of these languages becomes more apparent in the application of these pronouns in the plural number.

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Kee *saugeau* min,	*We love* (inclusive.)
Nee *saugeau* min,	*We love* (exclusive.)
Kee *saugeau*-m,	*Ye love.*
saugeau wug,	*They love.*

Nee and *kee* are respectively 'I' and 'thou,' *min* implies the 'others,' and *wug* is the mark of plurality, and the resolution of the examples will give us 'thou lovest others,' 'I love others,' 'thou lovest others,' 'he loves more than one.' Or in other words 'I and the others love,' 'you and the others love,' 'he and more than one love.' It will be perceived, that the second person plural and the inclusive form of the first person are distinguished from each other by the use of the word *min*, or its initial letter. Sometimes the whole pronoun is employed, and the monosyllable *won* is suffixed to the verb; but as ignorance is preferable to error, and as we do not know the reason or extent of this rule, we content ourselves with stating the fact.

As an example of the various modifications by which the time and accidents connected with affirmation are expressed in the Chippewa, we shall take the verb *saugeau*, 'to love an animate object,' and exhibit the process, by which the combinations of thought and expression are effected. It will be seen, that the verb itself is destitute of all inflection, and although we cannot trace the etymology nor define the meaning of all the auxiliary words, yet there is no reason to doubt, but they are the remains of primitive words originally having some analogous signification, and assuming their present form from that tendency to contraction, common to all languages, and above all to these. This peculiar feature strongly confirms one of the most plausible conjectures of the ingenious Tooke, where he contends, that mood, tense, number, and person are no parts of the verb, and it shows the inutility of multiplying the conjugations, as we have already remarked.

Ne,	*I.*
saug,	*love.*
e,	a connective.
au,	*an animated being.*

First Person.

Nee,	*I,*	saugeau,	*love* { *animated being.*	
Nee,	*I*		*loved*, &c.	bun.*
*Ni*ngee,	*I have*		*loved*,	bun.

* A mark of past time. A derivative of IAU, and equivalent to our aorist of the past.

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Nin-GAH,	*I shall*	*love*,	
Nin GAH GEE,	*I shall have*	*loved*,	bun.
Nin GAH,	*Let me*	*love*,	beenuh.*
Nin DAU,	*I may*	*love*,	
Nin DAU GEE,	*I might*	*love*,	
Nin DAU GEE,	*I may have*	*loved*,	bun.
	Second Person.		
Kee,	*Thou*	*lovest*,	
Kee GEE,	*Thou*	*lovedst*,	
Kee GEE,	*Thou hast*	*loved*,	bun.
	Third Person.		
O,	*He*, saugeau, or saugeaw,	*loves*, &c.	
O GEE,			
O GAH, &c.			

The aorist of the past is formed by annexing *bun* to the verb, and that of the future by adding *gah* to the pronoun. The perfect past and the perfect future add *gee* to the pronoun and *bun* to the verb. *Kishpin*, 'if,' is the mark of the conditional affirmation, and *go*, added to the verb, forms the passive voice. By comparing this slight analysis with the conjugation of the verb *iau*, this part of the syntax of the language will be easily understood.

We are not prepared to say, that all the Chippewa verbs can be thus regularly varied, but the exceptions which take place may be considered anomalies, such as are found in all languages, or may be referred to some unknown principle of concord, which future investigation may probably develope.

In the regular formation of these verbs, the pronoun precedes, designating the person, and coalescing with the mark of past or future time; the root of the verb follows, with the sign of the class attached, which is in fact the only inseparable addition made to it. The mark of the aorist or of the definite time, completes the new combination. The inanimate class resembles the other in all respects, except that *toan* is the terminating active mark and *egoan* the passive.

There is a singular coïncidence between the formation of the present participle in the Chippewa and in the English, both suffix *ing* to the verb.

	Present.	Past.	Present Participle.
Love,	saugeau,	saugeau*bun*,	saugeau*ing*.
Walk,	pimmosa,	pimmisa*bun*,	pimmosa*ing*.
Dance,	nemee,	nemee*bun*,	nem*ing*.

Some verbs are converted into substantives by the addition of *win*.

* This word signifies, *let me, permit me.*

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Minnequa,	*to drink,*	minnequa*awin,*	*drink.*
Aunoke,	*to work,*	aunoke*win,*	*work.*
Odewa,	*to traffic,*	odewa*awin,*	*traffic.*

These languages admit no inflections of the substantives, and cases are therefore unknown. The mark of number and of time may be annexed to them, and there are a few compound words, which serve the purpose of prepositions, and which may be combined with nouns. But their meaning is not definite, nor their application extensive; like *ink* in the Delaware, which is a mark of locality, but which has been rendered 'at,' 'in,' 'on,' as the subject seemed to require. The annexation of particular circumstances to general terms, which is necessary from the impossibility of providing a separate term for every complex idea, and which is effected by cases or connectives, is either not done in the Indian languages, or it is done indeterminately. 'I went him town, and saw man head cut off,' is an expression, which marks great want of precision in the speech or thoughts of those who employ it; but it is such an expression as an Indian would use, and in fact from the structure of the language frequently must use. And although from the composition of this sentence, we may collect the meaning of the speaker, yet it is clear, that those words which do not coalesce and are not connected together, must be frequently employed, where their relative operation is indeterminate. And to this cause must be attributed much of the uncertainty attending our Indian translations, too obvious to those, who have heard them, and also the use of gestures in all their conversations, to make up for the poverty of the language.

A few prepositions, indicating local relations are employed, but they are very general in their application. These combine readily with substantives. From the formidable length of most of them, it is evident, that they are compound terms; and perhaps, if we were able to resolve them into their elements, we should find, that they are parts of nouns or verbs, labor-saving machines, expressing by contraction or corruption, in one word, what in the origin of language may have required sentences. But what Tooke has so ably performed for the English particles, we can never expect to see peformed for the Indian.

We shall insert a few of these cumbrous appendages.

In the Miami.

Aupelaukontshee,	*behind.*
Shaupondee,	*through.*

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In the Chippewa.

Iausewaun,	*without.*
Nasawüe,	*between.*
Peenjaie,	*within.*

The introduction of new animals or instruments among the Indians would naturally lead to the composition of new terms, descriptive of the qualities or appearance of the animals, and of the object or mode of operation of the instrument. And we accordingly find, that the domestic animals, and the productions of civilized life, which the Europeans have introduced among them, have received their appellations by this process.

A horse is called by the Chippewas *pabazhikogauzhee*, from *pabazhik*, 'single,' or undivided, and *ashkunzhee*, 'hoof.'

A plough is called *pegokummebedegun*, from *pegabedoan*, to 'break,' *akkee*, 'earth,' *e*, a connective, and *jegun*, 'instrument.' This word, *jegun*, is the terminating part of the compound words, descriptive of instruments.

Iskodakwaujegun, 'tongs,' from *ishkoda*, 'fire,' *takwaudun*, 'bite,' and *jegun;* 'the fire-biter.'

But there are in all these languages many names of animals indigenous to the country, which are compound terms, collecting together some of their most remarkable appearances or qualities. We will not fatigue our readers with the perusal of these long and harsh words, but shall merely exhibit the process, by which these dialects have accommodated themselves to the changes which circumstances have rendered necessary.

A spider is called by the Chippewas a *net-maker*, and a jay, a *bull-frog* bird.

By the Delawares the following appellations have been conferred.

A Panther,	*Long tail.*
An Otter,	*Long dive.*
An Opossum,	*White face.*
A Turkey,	*Scratcher.*
A Bald Eagle,	*White tail.**
Pike,	*Long bill.*
Catfish,	*Fat fish.*
Hornet,	*White stinger behind.*
Yellow Jacket,	*Yellow stinger behind.*
Honey bee,	*Sugar stinger behind.*

Very few, perhaps none of the names applied to animals, are arbitrary words, and they presuppose an established nomen-

* There are different words for the tails of quadrupeds, birds, fishes, and insects.

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clature of the objects or qualities, associated in combination, before the formation and application of the specific term. The comfort, and in fact the existence, of the Indians depend so essentially upon a few of the fur-bearing and food-supplying animals, that it seems difficult to conceive any period in their history, when they had not some distinguishing appellation for these co-tenants of the forest. They could not look around them, without seeing a buffalo, a deer, a bear, or some other animal, destined for their subsistence by that Providence, which tempers the wind to the shorn lamb. And we believe, that this peculiar trait is a strong proof, that they do not now occupy the country in which their language was formed and matured. In ages long since passed, and probably in other regions, the animals known to them were different from those inhabiting this part of the world. These doubtless received names from them, as well as the other works of creation. But in the erratic migrations to which barbarous tribes are exposed, they perhaps reached a country, whose animal kingdom presented new features, and in applying distinctive appellatives to the objects thus made known to them, they would naturally consult the prominent habits of the animals or revert to their own former associations, and thus compound terms, conveying the new idea.

We shall briefly state a few leading principles, which regulate the construction of our Indian languages, and which give them a primitive character, among the various modes of human speech.

Their original words are probably monosyllabic, and the compounds have been formed, as circumstances required new terms.

Their distinction of animate and inanimate nature; their verbal adjectives and substantives; their want of genders; their tendency to combination and coälescence; the absence of all inflection in their verbs, to designate moods, time, number, or person; the want of all declensions in their substantives or adjectives; the paucity of connectives, and the consequent deficiency in precision; the absence of auxiliary verbs; the division of the pronouns, and the annexation of the temporal marks, partly to them and partly to the verbs, and the combination of the same marks with all the other parts of speech;—these prominent characteristics we have already stated and explained.

The order of arrangement in these languages is invariable, and necessarily so from their construction.

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Definitives are little used, and we are not satisfied that the definitive article is at all known.* The numeral, *pazhik*, 'one,' in Chippewa, has been considered by some inquirers as an indefinite article; but we think it is used only when it has relation to number; as *one* man, when contradistinguished from none, or more than one, and not as *a* man, generally.

But a full consideration of this subject would carry us far beyond the limits we have prescribed for ourselves. Enough has been said to give a general view of some of the characteristic features of our Indian languages, and such a view is all we are able to offer, and perhaps more than our readers are willing to examine.

ART. IV.—*Hope Leslie; or Early Times in Massachusetts.* By the Author of 'Redwood.' 2 vols. 12mo. New York. 1827.

WE hold it to be a fortunate thing for any country, that a portion of its literature should fall into the hands of the female sex; because their influence, in any walk of letters, is almost sure to be powerful and good. This influence appears to us to be so peculiar in its nature, and so important in its action, that we venture to demand the attention of our readers to some remarks upon it, however unworthy of the subject our exposition may be.

To speak first of the influence of female literature on females themselves, we presume that the mere fact of the existence of such a literature produces a very sensible effect on the mental character of those, whom, if it were only for gallantry's sake, we must call the best part of our race. A woman feels a laudable pride in the knowledge that a sister has distinguished herself in an intellectual career; has won a prize in the competition of mind; has vindicated for her sex that equality with the other, which has been both doubted and denied. Her success is an argument which can be wielded at pleasure, and doubtless with

* We make this remark, notwithstanding the effect, which the letter *k* is said, on page 390, to have upon the adjectives. We incline to think, that the translation there is too free to give a just notion of the idiomatic form of the language.

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pleasure, against all who would underrate feminine capacity. And it is something more and better than an argument. It is a stimulus; acting on the generous ambition of the whole sex; prompting all to an exertion of their highest faculties; inducing a general disposition to read, to study, to think; making something desirable beside personal attraction, and something enviable, which shall last longer, and be more attainable, than beauty. The objects of pursuit will be exalted and refined. The consciousness of power will produce self-respect, and self-respect will lead to improvement.

Nor will this be the end. Woman, at the same time that she is thus raised in her own estimation, will be necessarily lifted up in the good opinion of man. He will acknowledge her claims on his respect, for the sake of the proofs she has offered of her spiritual endowments; and his behavior will tell her that he regards her neither as the queen nor the plaything of an hour, but as the real companion of his life. Then look at the happy light of this sentiment, as it is reflected back on the man. How much his own worth is increased, by the better opinions and more respectful feelings which he is obliged to entertain towards woman, and by the deportment and conduct which will be the natural result of those opinions and feelings. How much more estimable, useful, enlightened, he is like to be with an accomplished fellow creature, than with a brainless idol in his house and in his bosom. How different a being must man be, according as he is united to a companion, or tied to a plaything.

And who perceives not that the influence of woman, thus stimulated and directed, extends yet further, and acts on another generation; on the future men and the future women who are now infants under her care? Who can estimate the power of a mother over the mind of her offspring; and who will say, that this power will not be exerted with far happier prospects and probable consequences, if she is capable of becoming the instructer, than if she is only the nurse of her child?

If we have reasoned justly, it follows that the successful literary efforts of a few females, have a direct tendency to raise the whole mass of human intellect, in a manner, and to a degree, which could not otherwise be accomplished, and which are not to be estimated by common rules of calculation. That some bad consequences may follow a sudden taste or fashion for literature, is neither to be denied nor wondered at. That two

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or three females may make themselves exceedingly troublesome to their acquaintance by the annoying perseverance of their high discourse at all times and tides; that a few more may prove too often and too glaringly how little good their reading has done them, by the questions they ask and the answers they give; and that a very few indeed may culpably and ruinously neglect their domestic duties for the circulating library or the goose-quill, are matters of undoubted fact and sad experience; but in a general view of the subject, their importance is inconsiderable. They are hardly worth an estimation, when we are weighing the quantity of good with which they come mixed up, the unavoidable refuse and dust. Who will be so uncourteous and illnatured as to refuse to make for them a due allowance? Who so perverse as to prefer a stupid and stationary ignorance without these evils, to a state of diffused cultivation and intelligence with them? Will any one forego all the advantages which must necessarily accrue to himself and society, from the intellectual improvement of those who sustain the high and responsible relations of wives and mothers, merely through the fear of a little pedantry or pretension? And is pretension confined to one sex alone? Are there no male pretenders? Are all the smatterers and idlers in literature, women? Not if our ears have given us a true report of the matter. Listen to a beau and a belle discussing one of Sir Walter's novels, or mayhap some graver book or subject, during a morning call, or the pauses of a cotillion; and you will find, where both parties are not on a melancholy equality, that, half the time at least, the advantage in judgment, discrimination, taste, and pertinent remark, will be on the side of the fair one. Throw us into promiscuous society anywhere, and for an hour's literary talk we are quite willing to take our chance with the ladies. The truth is, that wherever literature is at all in vogue, there will be literary pretenders and literary nothings; but the gentlemen will furnish a full quota of both.

We have not yet spoken of the character of female literature, but only of its existence; for its existence alone, whatever may be its character and objects, is capable of exerting, and does exert, all the influences which have already been noticed. A Carter and a Dacier may exalt the whole mental standard of the sex to which they belong, although few or none of those who feel the honor of their celebrity may be able to enter into their studies, and examine the grounds of their re-

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putation as classical scholars. It is enough that their merit is allowed and respected; enough that their fame is shared with their sex, that emulation is kindled, and that attention is directed to intellectual acquisitions, employments, and pleasures.

But when the impetus has been given, and the noble pride of mind is brought into action; when an authoress is no longer a rarity, and many a titlepage has borne a female name, it will then appear, that female literature has its proper walks; that it is peculiar in its nature and distinct in its influence; and it will appear, too, that these walks are exactly those in which the greatest moral power may manifest and most directly exert itself. Into the paths of abstruse learning, few of the sex will bend their steps. Their situation, habits, and feelings lead them not there. They will be found in greener and more pleasant places, whither their own inclinations and capabilities will most naturally conduct them, and where their enchantments will exercise the most potent sway. A single glance at the library of female writers, which, by the way, is now a large as well as a respectable one, will satisfy us, that it comprises two main divisions; the instruction of youth, and what is called, though in some respects improperly and unjustly, the lighter kinds of literature. Books for the nursery and the school will occupy a conspicuous station on one side, while on the other we shall see novels, tales, essays, and poetry. And if we were asked to point out those descriptions of literature which are the most directly and extensively active on the manners, principles, and tastes, mental and moral, of a community, we think that these are precisely the kinds which we should name.

The power which well adapted books may exert on the minds of children, can hardly be stated in extravagant terms, and will be allowed by every one to be great. And when we consider further, that early impressions, though often weakened, are seldom entirely erased; that good seed on good ground affords an abundant return at the harvest time; that 'the child is father of the man;' that a strong direction once given is long, and, in a majority of cases, always retained; and, to put the subject in one other point of view, when we consider that the mother's influence, which, next to the influence of Heaven itself, is the best and dearest and most heavenly, and has been the most frequently and gratefully acknowledged by its objects, may be so effectually aided in its

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operations by the hints which the parent receives, and the stores of auxiliary instruction and entertainment which are placed at her disposal, in judicious books for children, we shall regard such books not with pleasure alone, but with respect; we shall esteem it no act of condescension in ourselves, in any one, to turn over their pages; we shall perceive more solid instruction, more beauty, truth, power, in many a little work stitched up in colored paper, bearing a simple wood cut on each side, and thrown about the nursery with as much freedom of dissemination as the most ardent republican could desire, than in many a proud octavo, redolent of Russia, and tenacious of its standing on shelves of mahogany.

Such being the importance of juvenile books, who are the best qualified to make them? and who do make them? To the first question we answer, Women. They are the best qualified to make books for children, who are most in the company of children; who have almost the sole care of children; whose natural sympathies unite them most closely with children, even such of them as have never been mothers themselves; who best know the minds, the wants, the hearts of children; and whose tenderness and gentleness gracefully bend to the ignorance of children, and assimilate most easily and happily with their soft and confiding natures. The child, in its earlier years especially, has no guardian like woman, no friend like woman, and can therefore have no instructer like woman.

And, when we come to answer the next question, Who have really devoted their best talents and most anxious care to the education of children; who have written the best books for and about children? we are thankful that we again can answer, Women. Thirty years ago (if we had been in existence then), we could not have answered thus. We should have been compelled to say, There are no books for children; these important members of the human family are destitute; this immensely valuable, and infinitely fertile field lies neglected and runs to waste; no seed has been sown there for the propitious skies to mature; the grain has yet to be deposited; the weeds are yet to be eradicated; both man and woman pass it by, and take their labor to other places, and think not of redeeming it, nor know that by care and culture it may be made to blossom like the rose, and fill the earth with its fruits. This we should at that time have been obliged to say. But now

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we can say, that those whose part and province it was to do this work, have done it, and done it well. We can point to the names of Barbauld and Edgeworth, Taylor and Hoffland, and confidently ask, where there are worthier. Men talk of eras in literature. The era of the two first named of those ladies, the era of the 'Hymns for Children' and the 'Parent's Assistant,' was a golden era, pure and bright, and full of riches, and deserving of a rank among the most glorious dates of improvement. Since that time laborers have been fast coming into the same field, and have worked well; though we must still say, that those who came first worked best. Our own countrywomen have been neither tardy in advancing to this delightful task, nor inefficient in their services. We believe that the best children's books which we have, and we have many which are excellent, are the composition of females; and if we felt ourselves at liberty to do so, we could repeat an honorable, and by no means a scanty list of the names of those who have earned something better than mere reputation, by contributing to form the minds and hearts of our children. Those who are conscious that they belong to the catalogue, have little to ask of fame, and certainly nothing to receive from it half so valuable as that which they already possess, the gratulations of their own hearts.

The department of juvenile literature, then, is almost entirely in female hands. Long may it remain there! Long, for the interests of virtue, and the improvement of our kind, may it be in the heart of woman to nurture the growth, and watch over and direct the early puttings forth of youthful intellect and feeling. While she retains the office, so delightful in itself, and so grave and momentous in its ends, and even adds to its beautiful dignity by the graceful and effectual manner in which she has hitherto performed its duties, she inspires us with an admiration of a deeper, and more lasting, and, we must also believe, more flattering character, than was the most glowing and romantic love of the days of chivalry. Talk not to us of chivalry, unless it be in poetry, and with the usual latitude and license of poetry. In truth, and in prose, the most refined devotion of knighthood and chivalry is no more to be compared, in purity and elevation, to the sentiments which female excellence now commands, than are those fair ones who then presided at the great duels which we read of under the poetical name of tournaments, and who by their presence and

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plaudits animated the legalized and courtly slaughter which was raging and struggling beneath them, to be compared to the females of our own time, who, as beautiful, no doubt, and accomplished as they, find it their more appropriate privilege and pleasure to stimulate the fresh powers of childhood to the competitions of knowledge and virtue, and to hold out the meed of approbation to the exertions of innocent and ingenuous minds.

To pass from this department of woman's literary labors to the other, we come to a field, which, though she does not occupy it so exclusively, she occupies with honor, and in which she has done much good, and still may do more. It is a field, too, which, in common with the former, has been undervalued. We shall not stop to argue with those who contend that novels, and romances, poems and plays, should not be read. It is enough that people will read them as fast as they are written; that beyond other kinds of literature, they are widely diffused, and caught up with an unsatisfied avidity. In one sense, if in no other, they are truly light; for, like those seeds to which nature has given wings, they fly abroad with the four winds, rejoicing in their buoyancy, and disseminating themselves through every land. This lightness is of itself a vast advantage, and the true inquiry is, not whether the advantage shall be used, for that we cannot help, but how it may be best used. As thistle down, and nettle seed are in full possession of it, we ought to turn our attention to those worthier plants, whose seeds are also winged, and favor their culture, and encourage their maturity. The interest, the natural, irrepressible interest, which the passions of men will always take in lively descriptions of passion; the absorbing heed which their affections will render, while the world stands, to writings which address and excite them, should be turned to virtuous ends by all those who love virtue, to useful ends by all those who honor truth; and every patriot and every philanthropist, every well-wisher to his country or his kind, should rejoice whenever he sees those, who, with the magic wands of poesy and fiction and the potent spells of genius, might lead the spirits of men almost whither they would, and who yet would rather snap their wands asunder, and abjure their spells for ever, than wield them for a moment in league with the powers of darkness; who would rather die, than lure men, by any charms of theirs, from the paths of uprightness and life.

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The purity and the goodness of woman have here done their proper work. They are seen and felt in the elegant literature of the times. They have greatly contributed to chasten the morals of literature, and establish a code of laws, by which offences against decency are condemned as offences against taste. We would hazard the opinion, that to their absence the prevailing licentiousness of old English literature is in some degree to be ascribed. There were no female authors in those days when ribaldry was deemed essential to the drama, if to no other species of writing; and when a novel was thought none the worse, perhaps all the better, for describing scenes, which we trust would now be the proscription of any book whatever. They have now come in, following the conduct of their own taste and peculiar powers, to try their skill in providing the intellectual entertainment of society; and a chaster tone of public sentiment has been, in part, the consequence of the trial. We would not give an unreasonable share in the reformation to the influence of female literature; but we have no doubt whatever, that the coöperation of that with other meliorating influences has been of the utmost importance to the final effect. How should it be otherwise? Why should not the modesty and delicate feeling of woman refine and soften the character of society as much in her writings, as in her manners and conversation and life?

That some females seem to have forgotten their sex, and to have prided themselves on throwing off their peculiar qualities, and adopting the coarser habits of men, in their literary performances, is true. But such cases are happily, and as we think, necessarily rare. The masquerade is out of nature, and gives no pleasure to those whose approbation is valuable. It is like the occasional adoption of masculine attire by heroines of the stage. All may not be disgusted with the metamorphosed individual, but certainly none can respect, and few can approve.

If there is a poison more subtle, more deadly, and, alas, more palatable than all others, it is the poison of passion, which is communicated far and wide through the medium of books of amusement. If there is a medicine more healthful, pleasant, and precious than others, it is the antidote of virtuous principle conveyed through the same medium, acceptable to all tastes, and spreading wherever the poison had spread. The hand of woman has been doing its proper office in largely administering the healing potion. The gentle and faithful

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nurse of our bodily sicknesses has extended her care to our mental and moral constitution, assiduously and with success. Both services belong to her, and in both capacities she is at home. She cannot be false to her nature. The cause of virtue must always find in her an advocate. While she uses the pen, she must always use it to inculcate the graces which she loves, and in which she herself excels. If our literature needs a preservative against the deleterious infusions of licentiousness and folly, we look confidently to her, for we shall find it in the enthusiasm of her heart, and the strength of her good principles. But if our confidence should prove to be misplaced; if our anticipations should be disappointed; if woman should ever turn recreant to her own interest, her own happiness, her own nature; if she too should begin to blot the fair page of letters with unseemliness, and make the mind and soul instruments of their own degradation; then, though we are not apt to despair of anything that is good, then we should either give up the cause, or look for direct interposition from above, for vain would be the help of man.

These are our sentiments with regard to what we have called female literature. We fear not for their truth, but only that we have not done justice to their truth and the importance of the subject. The authoress of 'Hope Leslie' must not accuse us of neglecting her beautiful book, because we have not yet alluded to it; for our remarks were suggested by it, and, if they are worthy, may be applied to it, and to the rest of her writings. She has been a laborer in both of the departments of which we have spoken, and in both she has merited, and we believe received, the cordial approbation of the public.

'Hope Leslie' is the last of this lady's three larger works, and, in our judgment, the best. It bears the lineaments of the two others, so far as to entitle them to claim a family resemblance to it; but it is written with an easier, freer spirit than the others; its chain of beauty is less frequently interrupted; it contains a greater number of prominent characters; its style is more matured. In the whole three, however, there is the same purity and delicacy; the same generous, lofty sentiment; the same deep and solemn breathings of religion without parade, and of piety without cant or censoriousness; the same love of the grand and the lovely in nature, together with the same power so to express that love as to waken it up ardently, devotionally in others; the same occasional touches of merry wit and play-

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ful satire; the same glowing fancy; and, spread through all, and regulating all, the same good sense, leading to a right apprehension of human life and human motives, restraining genius from extravagance, giving an air of reality to the narrative, and securing our constant respect for the narrator.

There is a natural advantage, if we may use such a phrase, belonging to the last of these tales, which, if the two former had been equal to it in other respects, would yet have clothed it with an interest greatly superior to theirs. This advantage is its date; the times and the scenes in which its plot is laid. At the same time that there is greater danger incurred, and greater care and skill demanded in writing an historical than any other kind of novel, yet when the care and the skill have been successful, and the danger obviously and confessedly escaped, the work makes a stronger appeal to our sympathies, and keeps a more tenacious hold on our memory, than a work of mere imagination from the same hand. The danger is in caricaturing, or feebly representing those men and manners of which there exist true portraits, so far as history is true, in the public mind. A caricature, or a weak, stiff, chalky delineation of a Cæsar or an Alfred, a Bonaparte or a Washington, is intolerable. We cannot pardon the stupid mimicry. But let them be brought out into bold, masterly relief, authentic, spirited, living, and breathing, and we confess the artist's power, by giving up our fainter images for his, which we immediately install in our own historical galleries, and make the gems of our memory.

It has been fully demonstrated by many an orator and writer of our country, that the characters of our first settlers, the peculiar features of their age, their troubles, their struggles, their wars, government, manners, opinions, and institutions, all fresh and singular, with the wild scenes amidst which they moved, and the wild men by whom they were surrounded, furnished the most admirable materials for literary fabrics of purely national manufacture, and original patterns, both in poetry and prose. What they said was as true as truth itself. Neither could any fault be found with the recipes which they kindly wrote out; for these were as correct and clearly worded as could reasonably be desired. But the difficulty was to follow them. The article in request was not forthcoming. A few attempts were made, and one or two of them were not entire failures. The authoress of 'Hope Leslie,' and hitherto she

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alone, has been, at least to our satisfaction, completely successful. She has had the industry to study the early history of New England, the costume and carriage, the spirit and temper of the settlers and aboriginal inhabitants, and the talent to combine the results of her researches with the embellishments of her own resources, and present to us the whole, a beautiful work, to verify our theories, to enliven our ancestral attachments, to delight, instruct, and improve us.

The book has been so long before the public, and so generally read, that we do not intend to offer an abstract of its story. If there are any who have not read it, we advise them to do so at once; and in order to excite their curiosity, we will copy a few pages, which, on a second rapid perusal of the work, seemed to us to be fair specimens of it.

Very soon after the opening of the story, we are brought into what was then, 1630 or thereabouts, the western wilderness, if indeed one part of the country was more of a wilderness than another, and are introduced to the family of Mr Fletcher, a friend of Governor Winthrop, who has settled near the infant village of Springfield, on the Connecticut river. During the absence of the head of the family, they are all, with the exception of his son Everell, massacred by the Indians; a scene which the authoress describes with powerful effect. On the retreat of the hostile party, which consists of the chief Mononotto, two or three warriors, his son and daughter, Oneco and Magawisca, who had for some time been inmates of the Fletcher family, with the prisoners, Everell Fletcher and Faith Leslie, the sister of Hope, the following scene occurs.

'As the fugitives emerged from the narrow defile, a new scene opened upon them; a scene of valley and hill, river and meadow, surrounded by mountains, whose encircling embrace expressed protection and love to the gentle spirits of the valley. A light summer shower had just fallen, and the clouds, "in thousand liveries dight," had risen from the western horizon, and hung their rich draperies about the clear sun. The horizontal rays passed over the valley, and flushed the upper branches of the trees, the summits of the hills, and the mountains, with a flood of light, whilst the low grounds reposing in deep shadow, presented one of those striking and accidental contrasts in nature, that a painter would have selected to give effect to his art.

'The gentle Housatonic wound through the depths of the valley, in some parts contracted to a narrow channel, and murmuring over the rocks that rippled its surface; and in others, spread-

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ing wide its clear mirror, and lingering like a lover amidst the vines, trees, and flowers, that fringed its banks. Thus it flows now—but not as then in the sylvan freedom of nature, when no clattering mills and bustling factories threw their prosaic shadows over the silver waters—when not even a bridge spanned their bosom—when not a trace of man's art was seen, save the little bark canoe that glided over them, or lay idly moored along the shore. The savage was rather the vassal, than the master of nature; obeying her laws, but never usurping her dominion. He only used the land she prepared, and cast in his corn but where she seemed to invite him by mellowing and upheaving the rich mould. He did not presume to hew down her trees, the proud crest of her uplands, and convert them into "russet lawns and fallows grey." The axman's stroke, that music to the *settler's* ear, never then violated the peace of nature, or made discord in her music.

'Imagination may be indulged in lingering for a moment in those dusky regions of the past; but it is not permitted to reasonable, instructed man to admire or regret tribes of human beings, who lived and died, leaving scarcely a more enduring memorial, than the forsaken nest that vanishes before one winter's storms.

'But to return to our wanderers. They had entered the expanded vale, by following the windings of the Housatonic around a hill, conical and easy of ascent, excepting on that side which overlooked the river, where, half-way from the base to the summit, rose a perpendicular rock, bearing on its beetling front the age of centuries. On every other side, the hill was garlanded with laurels, now in full and profuse bloom; here and there surmounted by an intervening pine, spruce, or hemlock, whose seared winter foliage was fringed with the bright tender sprouts of spring. We believe there is a chord, even in the heart of savage man, that responds to the voice of nature. Certain it is, the party paused, as it appeared from a common instinct, at a little grassy nook, formed by the curve of the hill, to gaze on this singularly beautiful spot. Everell looked on the smoke that curled from the huts of the village, embosomed in pine trees, on the adjacent plain. The scene, to him, breathed peace and happiness, and gushing thoughts of home filled his eyes with tears. Oneco plucked clusters of laurels, and decked his little favorite, and the old chief fixed his melancholy eye on a solitary pine, scathed and blasted by tempests, that rooted in the ground where he stood, lifted its topmost branches to the bare rock, where they seemed, in their wild desolation, to brave the elemental fury that had stripped them of beauty and life.

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'The leafless tree was truly, as it appeared to the eye of Mononotto, a fit emblem of the chieftain of a ruined tribe. "See you, child," he said, addressing Magawisca, "those unearthed roots? the tree must fall—hear you the death-song that wails through those blasted branches?"

'"Nay, father, listen not to the sad strain; it is but the spirit of the tree mourning over its decay; rather turn thine ear to the glad song of this bright stream, image of the good. She nourishes the aged trees, and cherishes the tender flowrets, and her song is ever of happiness, till she reaches the great sea—image of our eternity."

'"Speak not to me of happiness, Magawisca; it has vanished with the smoke of our homes. I tell ye, the spirits of our race are gathered about this blasted tree. Samoset points to that rock —that sacrifice-rock." *His keen glance turned from the rock* to Everell.

'Magawisca understood its portentous meaning, and she clasped her hands in mute and agonizing supplication. He answered to the silent entreaty. "It is in vain—my purpose is fixed, and here it shall be accomplished. Why hast thou linked thy heart, foolish girl, to this English boy? I have sworn, kneeling on the ashes of our hut, that I would never spare a son of our enemy's race. The lights of heaven witnessed my vow, and think you, that now this boy is given into my hands to avenge thy brother, I will spare him for thy prayer? No—though thou lookest on me with thy mother's eye, and speakest with her voice, I will not break my vow."

'Mononotto had indeed taken a final and fatal resolution; and prompted, as he fancied, by supernatural intimations, and, perhaps, dreading the relentings of his own heart, he determined on its immediate execution. He announced his decision to the Mohawks. A brief and animated consultation followed, during which they brandished their tomahawks, and cast wild and threatening glances at Everell, who at once comprehended the meaning of these menacing looks and gestures. He turned an appealling glance to Magawisca. She did not speak. "Am I to die now?" he asked; she turned shuddering from him.

'Everell had expected death from his savage captors, but while it was comparatively distant, he thought he was indifferent to it, or rather, he believed he should welcome it as a release from the horrible recollection of the massacre at Bethel, which haunted him day and night. But now that his fate seemed inevitable, nature was appalled, and shrunk from it; and the impassive spirit, for a moment, endured a pang that there cannot be in any "corp'ral sufferance." The avenues of sense were closed,

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and past and future were present to the mind, as if it were already invested with the attributes of its eternity. From this agonizing excitement, Everell was roused by a command from the savages to move onward. "It is then deferred," thought Magawisca, and heaving a deep sigh, as if for a moment relieved from a pressure on her overburthened heart, she looked to her father for an explanation; he said nothing, but proceeded in silence towards the village.' pp. 138–143.

In the bosom of poor Magawisca, during her residence, or captivity, at Bethel, as Mr Fletcher's house is called, there had grown up a strong affection for young Everell, and she is determined to save his life, which the Indians are as firmly determined to sacrifice. In order to prevent her interference, her father confines her, on their arrival at the Indian village, in one of the huts, from which she beholds the agonizing sight of the savage procession moving to the sacrifice-rock, where Everell is to meet his death. She finds means, however, to elude the watchfulness of her guard, and arrives to the rescue in the manner thus described.

'Seated around their sacrifice-rock—their holy of holies—they listened to the sad story of the Pequod chief, with dejected countenances and downcast eyes, save when an involuntary glance turned on Everell, who stood awaiting his fate, cruelly aggravated by every moment's delay, with a quiet dignity and calm resignation, that would have become a hero or a saint. Surrounded by this dark cloud of savages, his fair countenance kindled by holy inspiration, he looked scarcely like a creature of earth.

'There might have been among the spectators, some who felt the silent appeal of the helpless, courageous boy; some whose hearts moved them to interpose to save the selected victim; but they were restrained by their interpretation of natural justice, as controlling to them as our artificial codes of laws to us.

'Others of a more cruel, or more irritable disposition, when the Pequod described his wrongs, and depicted his sufferings, brandished their tomahawks, and would have hurled them at the boy, but the chief said—"Nay, brothers—the work is mine—he dies by my hand—for my first born—life for life—he dies by a single stroke, for thus my boy was cut off. The blood of sachems is in his veins. He has the skin, but not the soul of that mixed race, whose gratitude is like that vanishing mist," and he pointed to the vapor that was melting from the mountain tops into the transparent ether; "and their promises are like this," and he snapped a dead branch from the pine beside which he stood, and broke it in fragments. "Boy, as he is, he fought for his mother,

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as the eagle fights for its young. I watched him in the mountain-path, when the blood gushed from his torn feet; not a word from his smooth lip betrayed his pain."

'Mononotto embellished his victim with praises, as the ancients wreathed theirs with flowers. He brandished his hatchet over Everell's head, and cried, exultingly, "See, he flinches not. Thus stood my boy, when they flashed their sabres before his eyes, and bade him betray his father. Brothers—My people have told me I bore a woman's heart towards the enemy. Ye shall see. I will pour out this English boy's blood to the last drop, and give his flesh and bones to the dogs and wolves."

'He then motioned to Everell to prostrate himself on the rock, his face downward. In this position the boy would not see the descending stroke. Even at this moment of dire vengeance, the instincts of a merciful nature asserted their rights.

Everell sunk calmly on his knees, not to supplicate life, but to commend his soul to God. He clapsed his hands together. He did not—he could not speak; his soul was

> "Rapt in still communion that transcends
> The imperfect offices of prayer."

'At this moment a sunbeam penetrated the trees that enclosed the area, and fell athwart his brow and hair, kindling it with an almost supernatural brightness. To the savages, this was a token that the victim was accepted, and they sent forth a shout that rent the air. Everell bent forward, and pressed his forehead to the rock. The chief raised the deadly weapon, when Magawisca, springing from the precipitous side of the rock, screamed—"Forbear!" and interposed her arm. It was too late. The blow was levelled—force and direction given—the stroke aimed at Everell's neck, severed his defender's arm, and left him unharmed. The lopped, quivering member dropped over the precipice. Mononotto staggered and fell senseless, and all the savages, uttering horrible yells, rushed toward the fatal spot.

'"Stand back!" cried Magawisca. "I have bought his life with my own. Fly, Everell—nay, speak not, but fly—thither—to the east!" she cried, more vehemently.

'Everell's faculties were paralyzed by a rapid succession of violent emotions. He was conscious only of a feeling of mingled gratitude and admiration for his preserver. He stood motionless, gazing on her. "I die in vain then," she cried in an accent of such despair, that he was roused. He threw his arms around her, and pressed her to his heart, as he would a sister that had redeemed his life with her own, and then tearing himself from her, he disappeared. No one offered to follow him. The voice of nature rose from every heart, and responding to the justice of

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Magawisca's claim, bade him "God speed!" To all it seemed that his deliverance had been achieved by miraculous aid. All—the dullest and coldest, paid involuntary homage to the heroic girl, as if she were a superior being, guided and upheld by supernatural power." pp. 154–157.

This escape is almost too wonderful, but it is countenanced by the best authority in numberless instances, and also by a few such marvellous occurrences in the history of real life. Magawisca, we must say a word of her, is one of those creations of genius of which it is hard to speak one's impressions in adequate terms, and therefore we shall say of her only a word. Some have questioned her verisimilitude as an Indian. They assert that she is too noble, too delicate, too spiritual for an Indian. This we are disposed to deny. That there were ever many Magawiscas, we indeed doubt ourselves, and therefore we would not propose her as a fair sample of the Indian character; but that the best features of her character have had a real existence in savage life, that she is a possible Indian, we have no doubt whatever; and this is all which is claimed for her in the truly modest preface of our authoress. Possible or impossible, she is a glorious creature, and even if she had no right to her creation, we welcome her to our heart of hearts.

Sir Philip Gardiner we detest. We are sorry that the writer meddled with a rascal of exactly his grain. Nevertheless, if he is necessary to the apprehension, imprisonment, and trial of Magawisca, we cannot spare even him; though we should still think that Rosa might be left out with advantage. A part of this trial scene we will here insert, as our last extract.

'The governor replied, with a severe gravity, ominous to the knight, "that the circumstances he had alluded to certainly required explanation; if that should not prove satisfactory, they would demand a public investigation. In the mean time, he should suspend the trial of the prisoner, who, though the decision of her case might not wholly depend on the establishment of Sir Philip's testimony, was yet, at present, materially affected by it."

'"He expressed a deep regret at the interruption that had occurred, as it must lead," he said, "to the suspension of the justice to be manifested either in the acquittal or condemnation of the prisoner. Some of the magistrates being called away from town on the next morning, he found himself compelled to adjourn the sitting of the court till one month from the present date,"

'"Then," said Magawisca, for the first time speaking with a tone of impatience, "then, I pray you, send me to death now.

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Anything is better than wearing through another moon in my prisonhouse, thinking," she added, and cast down her eyelids, heavy with tears, "thinking of that old man—my father. I pray thee," she continued, bending low her head, "I pray thee now to set my spirit free. Wait not for his testimony"—she pointed to Sir Philip—"as well may ye expect the green herb to spring up in your trodden streets, as the breath of truth to come from his false lips. Do you wait for him to prove that I am your enemy? Take my own word, I am your enemy; the sunbeam and the shadow cannot mingle. The white man cometh—the Indian vanisheth. Can we grasp in friendship the hand raised to strike us? Nay—and it matters not whether we fall by the tempest that lays the forest low, or are cut down alone by the stroke of the axe. I would have thanked you for life and liberty; for Mononotto's sake I would have thanked you; but if ye send me back to that dungeon—the grave of the living, feeling, thinking soul, where the sun never shineth, where the stars never rise nor set, where the free breath of heaven never enters, where all is darkness without and within"—she pressed her hand on her breast—"ye will even now condemn me to death, but death more slow and terrible than your most suffering captive ever endured from Indian fires and knives." She paused—passed unresisted without the little railing that encompassed her, mounted the steps of the platform, and advancing to the feet of the governor, threw back her mantle, and knelt before him. Her mutilated person, unveiled by this action, appealed to the senses of the spectators. Everell involuntarily closed his eyes, and uttered a cry of agony, lost indeed in the murmurs of the crowd. She spoke, and all again were as hushed as death. "Thou didst promise," she said, addressing herself to Governor Winthrop, "to my dying mother, thou didst promise, kindness to her children. In her name, I demand of thee death or liberty."

'Everell sprang forward, and clasping his hands exclaimed, "In the name of God, liberty!"

'The feeling was contagious, and every voice, save her judges, shouted, "Liberty!—liberty! grant the prisoner liberty!"

'The governor rose, waved his hand to command silence, and would have spoken, but his voice failed him; his heart was touched with the general emotion, and he was fain to turn away to hide tears more becoming to the man, than the magistrate.

'The same gentleman who, throughout the trial, had been most forward to speak, now rose; a man of metal to resist any fire. "Are ye all fools and mad!" he cried; "ye that are gathered here together, that like the men of old, ye shout, 'Great is Diana of the Ephesians!' For whom would you stop the course of justice? for one who is charged before you, with having visited

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every tribe on the shores and in the forests, to quicken the savages to diabolical revenge!—for one who flouts the faith once delivered to the saints, to your very faces!—for one who hath entered into an open league and confederacy with Satan against you!—for one who, as ye have have testimony within yourselves, in that her looks and words do so prevail over your judgments, is presently aided and abetted by the arch enemy of mankind!—I call upon you, my brethren," he added, turning to his associates, "and most especially on you, Governor Winthrop, to put a sudden end to this confusion by the formal adjournment of our court."

'The governor bowed his assent. "Rise, Magawisca," he said, in a voice of gentle authority, "I may not grant thy prayer; but what I can do in remembrance of my solemn promise to thy dying mother, without leaving undone higher duty, I will do."

'"And what mortal can do, I will do," said Everell, whispering the words into Magawisca's ear as she rose. The cloud of despondency that had settled over her fine face, for an instant vanished, and she said aloud; "Everell Fletcher, my dungeon will not be, as I said, quite dark, for thither I bear the memory of thy kindness."' pp. 198—201.

Hope Leslie, the white heroine of the work, is a finely drawn character, full of enthusiasm, affection, truth, and yet sparkling with gaiety and wit. Her friend and rival—yes, both friend and rival—Esther Downing, is lovely too, in her way, which, as was to be expected in those times, was rather a precise one, and her loveliness is as distinct from Hope's as possible. Magawisca too is another friend and rival, as we before hinted. Here are three ladies, who seem to love and admire each other as much as they do Everell Fletcher; who, by the way, excellent as he is, hardly deserves such an accumulation of honor. Is this, or is it not, a greater improbability than the character of the Indian heroine? We are afraid to leave the decision of the question to our authoress, who, if the truth must be told, appears to entertain a decided partiality for her own sex. Nor can we blame her for it. We are in no humor, indeed, to find fault with her at all, or for anything. We only hope, that as we have been tardy in noticing the last production of her pen, another will very soon be ready for our inspection. We pray her to go on, in the path in which she must excel, and has excelled, and which she ought consequently to make her peculiar one. We pray her to go on, in the name of her friends, for the public's sake, and for the honor of our youthful literature.

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ART. V.—1. *Considerations of the Claims and Conduct of the United States, respecting their Northeastern Boundary, and of the Value of the British Colonies in North America.* London. 1826. [Republished in the British Provinces. 1827.]

2. *Letters on the Boundary Line.* By VERAX. [Published in 'The St John's City Gazette.' 1827.]

IT has been the fate of the country formerly called by the French *Acadia*, and by the English *Nova Scotia*, to be the subject of national controversy during the greater part of the last two hundred years. The controversy has sometimes involved the claim to the whole country, and at other times only a question of boundary. The English claimed the country by virtue of the discovery made by John and Sebastian Cabot, sailing in the employ of the king of England; France, by the right of prior possession. The first settlement was made in the country by the French, namely, a temporary settlement in a small island at the mouth of Schoodick river, then called *St Croix*, in 1604, and a permanent one in the following year at Port Royal, now *Annapolis*. The French claimed not only the peninsula of Nova Scotia, and the territory now called *New Brunswick*, but all that part of Maine which lies east of the Penobscot, and during some part of the time, even to the Kennebeck. They made settlements in various parts of this extensive country. The English colonists steadily denied their right, and repeatedly invaded and took forcible possession of their settlements. These were twice restored to the French by treaty, namely, by the treaty of St Germain in 1632, and by that of Breda in 1667.

King James the First, in the year 1621, made a grant of the country, by the name of *Nova Scotia*, to Sir William Alexander. The charter to Alexander is deserving of notice, as first establishing the western boundary of the colony upon the river St Croix, and a line running due north from its source to the water of the St Lawrence. The words of the charter are, 'Ad fluvium vulgo Sanctæ Crucis appellatum, et ad scaturiginem remotissimam sive fontem ex occidentali parte ejusdem, qui se primum prædicto fluvio immiscet; unde per imaginariam directam lineam, quæ pergere per terram seu currere versus septentrionem concipietur, ad proximam navium sta-

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tionem, in fluvium, vel scaturiginem in magno fluvio de Canada sese exonerantem,' &c. This description is substantially the same with that in the treaty of peace with this country, except that it is limited to the most remote source of the St Croix coming from the west, and extends to the water of the St Lawrence.

Sir William Alexander afterwards ceded all his right in Nova Scotia to a French gentleman, whose son and heir ceded it to the crown of France, on the promise of a sum of money, which never was paid.

By the charter of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, granted by William and Mary, in the year 1691, both Maine and Nova Scotia were made a part of that province. The French settlements had been a short time before conquered by the troops of Massachusetts, but a magistrate being sent from Boston, after the reception of the charter, to take upon himself the government of Nova Scotia, he found the French flag hoisted, and all attempts to get possession of the country for several years proved unsuccessful. The treaty of Ryswick left the French in possession, and it was not until the year 1710 that it was conquered by a strong English and colonial force. By the treaty of Utrecht, in 1713, the whole of Nova Scotia, or Acadia, within its ancient limits, was ceded to Great Britain. After this cession, Nova Scotia became an independent colony, no longer under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts Bay. Maine, however, extending east to the St Croix, continued to be a part of the province of Massachusetts Bay, under the charter of William and Mary, until the Revolution. A question arose between England and France, which was elaborately discussed by commissioners of the two crowns, on a pretension of the latter, that Nova Scotia, or Acadia, as ceded by the treaty of Utrecht, embraced only a part of the peninsula of Nova Scotia. The English commissioners maintained, that the ceded territory extended to the Penobscot. The war of 1756 put an end to this discussion, and the peace which followed, in 1763, placed Great Britain in undisputed possession, not only of Acadia, to the full extent of the English claim, but of Canada. Here therefore ended all controversy between the two crowns on the subject.

On the acknowledgment of the independence of the United States, a partition of territory between those states, and the provinces remaining to the crown of Great Britain, be-

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came necessary. This partition was made by the treaty of peace, to conform to the limits which previously existed between the several provinces, namely, by a line running along the middle of the river St Croix to its source, and from this source in a direction due north to the southeasterly boundary of Canada, and thence along the highlands forming the boundary of Canada to the source of the Connecticut river. Under this part of the treaty, three questions have arisen between this country and Great Britain. The first of these questions was, which of the three branches of the St Croix river was intended by the treaty. This was determined, in 1798, by the unanimous voice of the commissioners under the treaty of 1794, by adopting the extreme northern source of the northern branch of the Schoodic river, as the source of the St Croix; and a monument was there established as the point from which the due north line should run. This decision was in conformity with the grants which had been made by the governments on each side, and appears otherwise to have been founded on very just principles. Both parties readily acquiesced in the decision. The second question involved the right of the respective parties to certain islands in the bay, at the mouth of the river. This also has been satisfactorily settled, by commissioners under the treaty of Ghent.

The third question is, where are the highlands situated, at which the line, running due north from the source of the St Croix, shall terminate. This question is now in discussion between the two governments, and it forms the subject of the tracts, the titles of which are placed at the head of this article. We think it will appear, in the sequel of these remarks, that this question is attended with less real difficulty and doubt, than either of the others. The language of the treaty is so clear, and it conforms so precisely with the known limits of the several colonies, long before the treaty was made, that it is surprising the question has ever been raised, and much more that it has been persisted in, with such confidence, by those who represent the British government. We see not how it is possible, without abandoning both the manifest import of the language of the treaty, and the clearly defined limits of the three contiguous provinces, for twenty years before the date of the treaty, to adopt any other construction, than that the line, to be drawn from the source of the St Croix, shall run due north, until it crosses the river St John, and reaches the high-

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lands which divide the waters running into the river or Gulf of St Lawrence, from those which run into the St John, and through it into the Bay of Fundy and the Atlantic ocean.

Before stating the grounds on which we rely in support of this position, we will quote, from the first of the tracts named above, the reasons given in support of a different construction of the treaty.

'The spirit and intention of the treaty of 1783 seem clearly to have been, to establish, between the two countries, in this quarter, what is termed an *arcifinius* BOUNDARY, such a line of separation as should give to neither party the advantages for attack, but serve mutually for the defence of both, or especially of that whose dominions were the most likely to be invaded. Accordingly, having first recorded their regard "for the reciprocal advantages and mutual conveniences to both nations," and their design "to settle the boundary upon such principles of liberal equity and reciprocity, that partial advantages, those seeds of discord, being excluded, such a beneficial and satisfactory intercourse between the two countries may be established, as may promote and secure to both perpetual peace," they proceed to delineate the only landmarks, and to lay down the only principle, which, in this quarter, could answer such ends, namely, *that chain of highlands which should divide the heads of rivers, whose mouths and courses were within the actual provinces of the respective claimants.* Thus the party possessing the mouth of any stream, would possess also its whole course to the fountain head. This was obviously the most equitable adjustment, and the most natural boundary. The entire course of the Penobscot, the Kennebec, and other rivers, flowing into the Atlantic ocean, would be thus secured to the United States and a reciprocal advantage afforded to us in the possession of the Chaudiere, and other streams, that discharge their waters within our territories. Between two nations no separation is so distinct, no barrier so effectual, as a mountainous frontier; and as rivers, in new countries, are the great highways of nature, and almost the only means of communication and transport, any other division must give to one party a most unequal advantage for invasion in war, and to both, continual disputes in trade and navigation in the time of peace. The line of separation was therefore to be drawn "from the northwest angle of Nova Scotia, that is, the angle formed by a due north line drawn from the source of the Saint Croix to THE HIGH LANDS, *along the said high lands*, dividing the waters that fall into the Atlantic from those that fall into the river Saint Lawrence, to the northwestern head of the Connecticut river." Now as no part of the British possessions, in this

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quarter (their western boundary being the Saint Croix) touched the Atlantic, nor of the American, the Saint Lawrence, the principal end and object of the treaty evidently was, *to give them the heads of the rivers that flowed to the ocean into and throughout their territory, and us, of those that flowed into and through ours.* Indeed, the description in the treaty coupled with this fact just stated must be considered as quite synonymous with this interpretation.'

'In exploring this boundary, the American government seems to have assumed the principle, that if no such *high lands* existed, or existed where they would not be intersected by the north line, or intersected, would not divide rivers agreeably to the strict letter of the treaty, they were then to go up to the St Lawrence, and fix the northwest angle of Nova Scotia on the very shore of that river. Accordingly they pass over a high and extensive range of elevated land, which, compared with the other heights and features of the whole tract, would readily be called and recognised as the HIGH LANDS, but which they deny to be the HIGH LANDS *in the treaty*, because though these would indeed divide the heads of rivers, and give them the course and source of all that flow into and through the United States, and us of all that flow into and through our territories, yet if the streams on this side empty into the Atlantic, those on the other do not join the St Lawrence. They pass on, therefore, and meet the St John. And here it should be recalled to mind, that neither their ministers in negotiating the treaty, nor their agents under the first commission, had ever dreamed of extending the most extravagant of their pretensions beyond the *right bank* of this river, which they wished to be accepted as the *real St Croix*, but which, in each instance, was resisted by us, and finally relinquished by them. Indeed, both the language and the principle of the treaty, are conclusive evidence, that its negotiators could never have entertained the intention, nor conceived the possibility, of touching, or intersecting this river; or else in describing a boundary, which was evidently to pursue the great natural land-marks of the country, they had never, not only neglected so important a feature, but adopted a principle of separating heads of rivers, utterly inapplicable to the tract to be divided. Now, however, the Americans have the courage to pass the stream, and on the left bank push on their north line. Having intersected the St John's, leaving the lower half to us, and the upper to themselves, they proceed in their course to intersect its numerous branches, the lower parts of which are to be theirs, and the upper for us. They pass on, over a beautiful and well wooded country, of gentle hills and valleys, till, instead of streams running westerly to the St John, they meet with waters that flow easterly to the Bay

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of Chaleurs, a branch of the Gulf of St Lawrence. These they intersect, taking the source and upper part to themselves, and leaving the rest of their course to us. They pass on, and when a few miles more would have carried them into the Gulf, or river of St Lawrence, by whatever name the arm of the sea at that point is to be called, and they meet a stream flowing into it, they have the conscience to stop. And here is the northwest angle of Nova Scotia, and if there chance to be a hill in the neighborhood, these are the *high lands*. Here they turn upon their heel, and follow *these high lands* down to the southwest and south, dividing, *first*, the streams that flow into the river St Lawrence, from those that empty into a part of the Gulf, called the Bay of Chaleurs, both within our Territories; *next*, the waters that flow into the river St Lawrence, from those that flow into the St John both within, or falling into our acknowledged territories; keeping often in sight of, and never at any great distance from the very bank of the former stream; until, at last, to get round the sources of the Chaudiere, they must turn almost to the southeast, and, making a considerable bend, join *the* HIGH LANDS upon which both parties are agreed.'

Before proceeding farther, and without relying implicitly on this statement of what the treaty *was intended to be*, it may be expedient to see what it *is*. By the second article of the definitive treaty of peace, of 1783, it is stipulated, for the purpose of preventing all disputes that might arise on the subject of the boundaries of the United States, that 'the following are and shall be their boundaries, namely, from the northwest angle of Nova Scotia, namely, that angle, which is formed by a line drawn due north from the source of St Croix river to the highlands; along the said highlands which divide those rivers that empty themselves into the river St Lawrence, from those which fall into the Atlantic ocean, to the northwesternmost head of Connecticut river, thence down along the middle of that river,' &c. and 'east, by a line to be drawn along the middle of the river St Croix, from its mouth, in the Bay of Fundy, to its source, and from its source, directly north, to the aforesaid highlands, which divide the rivers that fall into the Atlantic ocean, from those which fall into the river St Lawrence,' &c.

The first object of inquiry will be to ascertain where is the northwest angle of Nova Scotia, designated as the starting point, from which to trace the line of boundary. To determine this, it is only necessary to ascertain the northern boun-

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dary line of Nova Scotia, or the line which at the date of the treaty, divided Nova Scotia from Canada. Was this line at the highlands north of the St John, or did it run from Mars Hill across the St John? This question is easily answered.

When Canada was a French province, it was generally considered as bounded on the southeast by the river St Lawrence, and so it is laid down in most of the French maps of that period. But some of the commissions to the governors there extended their jurisdiction, to a distance of ten leagues on the southeast side of the river. But after the cession of this province to Great Britain, by the peace of 1763, the king issued his proclamation of October seventh, declaring, that with the advice of the privy council, he had granted letters patent, under the great seal, to erect four distinct governments, within the ceded territories. The first of these was the government of Quebec, the boundary of which, on the south and east, is described in the proclamation in the following words, namely, 'from whence the said line, crossing the river St Lawrence, and the lake Champlain in forty-five degrees of north latitude, passes along the high lands, which divide the rivers that empty themselves into the said river St Lawrence, from those which fall into the sea; and also along the north coast of the baye des Chaleurs, and the coast of the Gulf of St Lawrence, to Cape Rosieres,' &c.

In conformity with the line of boundary thus established for the province of Quebec, the royal commission, granted about the same time, to Montague Wilmot, Esq., appointing him captain-general and governor-in-chief over the province of Nova Scotia, thus describes the limits of that province, namely; 'To the northward, our said province shall be bounded by the southern boundary of our province of Quebec, as far as the western extremity of the Bay des Chaleurs; to the eastward, by the said bay, and the Gulf of St Lawrence,' &c.; 'and to the westward, although our said province hath anciently extended, and doth of right extend, as far as the river Pentagonet, or Penobscot, it shall be bounded by a line drawn from Cape Sable across the entrance of the Bay of Fundy to the mouth of the river St Croix, by the said river to its source, and by a line drawn due north from thence to the southern boundary of our colony of Quebec.'

Eleven years afterwards, namely, in 1774, the celebrated act of Parliament was passed, 'for making more effectual provision

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for the government of the province of Quebec, in North America.' The first section of this act establishes the boundaries of the province of Quebec, differing in some particulars from the description in the proclamation of 1763. The part relating to the present question, is described in the following words, namely, 'bounded on the south by a line from the bay of Chaleurs, along the highlands which divide the rivers that empty themselves into the river St Lawrence from those which fall into the sea, to a point in forty-five degrees of northern latitude, on the eastern bank of the river Connecticut,' &c. By the second section of the same act, it is provided, 'that nothing herein contained relative to the boundary of the province of Quebec, shall in any wise affect the boundaries of any other colony.'

Such was the boundary line, as established by an order of council, promulgated by the king's proclamation, and confirmed by an act of Parliament, between the provinces of Quebec and Nova Scotia. Such was the line, which remained without alteration to the date of the peace of 1783, and we may add without alteration to the present day, and which, as forming the northern boundary of Nova Scotia, necessarily formed one of the sides of the angle described in the treaty, as the northwest angle of Nova Scotia,—the starting point of the boundary of the United States. Such was the southern boundary of the province of Quebec, as clearly defined twenty years before the date of the treaty, perfectly well known at the time, and adopted in the treaty in almost the language of the proclamation, and of the act of Parliament, as the line of boundary between that province and the United States. In one particular the treaty is more precise than either of the other documents. The act of Parliament describes the line as proceeding from the Bay of Chaleurs along the highlands to the forty-fifth degree of latitude on the Connecticut river. The treaty is more specific, and says, along the highlands 'to the norwesternmost head of Connecticut river, thence down along the middle of that river to the forty-fifth degree of north latitude.'

There may be still a question admitting of some doubt, as to the precise point at which the southern limit of the province of Quebec, from the Bay of Chaleurs, shall strike the highlands, whether it shall be at the nearest point, or whether it shall follow some stream from the head of the bay, to its source in the highlands. We are not informed whether this question,

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as respects the boundary between Canada and Nova Scotia, has ever been settled. The best maps of these two provinces place the boundary upon the river Ristigouche, which falls into the head of the bay of Chaleurs. The same principles which should settle the question as between those two governments, should also settle it in reference to the angle at which the boundary of the United States begins. The variation between any two constructions of this question would be of very little moment, as the territory, between the different lines that might be adopted, would be small in extent, and of very little value. On one construction, the angle would be placed at the highlands north of the sources of the Ristigouche river; on another, it would be at one of these sources; and on a third, it would be at the highlands between the Ristigouche and the streams running into the St John. This is the only extent of any question of real doubt, arising out of this part of the treaty, and the right involved in it is so trivial, that neither government could think of making it a subject of serious controversy.

Whatever doubt there may be, as to the precise delineation, which should be given to the boundary line between Lower Canada and Nova Scotia, from the descriptions of it in the proclamation of 1763—in the commission to the governor of Nova Scotia—in the Quebec act—and in the treaty, there can be no doubt as to the fact, that this line was not intended to cross the river St John; and that the governors of Nova Scotia, and of New Brunswick since the division of the province, have uniformly possessed a jurisdiction extending farther north, than the point at which the St John crosses the due north line, from the source of the St Croix. It is therefore in the highlands north of the St John that the northeast angle, described in the treaty, is to be sought.

These highlands are thus described in the 'Topographical Description of the Province of Lower Canada,' published in 1815, by Colonel Bouchette, surveyor-general of the province, a work of great value, and of very high authority. 'From the high banks opposite the city [Quebec], the land rises in a gradual ascent for a distance of probably ten leagues towards the first range of mountains; pursuing then a northeasterly course, this chain ends upon the river in the neighborhood of River du Loup.' 'Beyond this range, at about fifty miles' distance, is the ridge generally denominated the Land's Height, dividing

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the waters that fall into the St Lawrence from those taking a direction towards the Atlantic ocean, and along whose summit is supposed to run the boundary line between the territories of Great Britain and the United States of America. This chain commences upon the eastern branch of the Connecticut river, takes a northeasterly course, and terminates near Cape Rosier, in the Gulf of St Lawrence.'

This we believe to be an accurate description of the highlands, which form the boundary between the territories of the two nations. No one competent to form an opinion on the subject, as far as the public has been informed, ever doubted, until the publication of the work from which this description is taken, that along these highlands the dividing line was to be drawn, whenever it should be definitively settled. But in a subsequent part of the same work, the author advances the opinion, that the treaty ought to be understood as describing such a boundary as will include the whole course of the St John, and its branches within the British territory. From this intimation probably has risen the claim, which has been asserted with much confidence and warmth by the inhabitants of the provinces, and which has been maintained by the British government, in the negotiations for the adjustment of the line. It is in the following words, that Colonel Bouchette brings forward this claim.

'From the Connecticut river the height of land, on which the boundary is supposed to pass, runs to the northeast, and divides the waters that fall into the St Lawrence from those flowing into the Atlantic; and which height, after running some distance upon that course, sends off a branch to the eastward, that separates the heads of the streams falling into Lake Timiscouata and river St John, and by that channel into the Bay of Fundy, from those that descend in a more direct course to the Atlantic. The main ridge continuing its northeasterly direction, is intersected by an imaginary line, prolonged in a course astronomically due north, from the head of the river St Croix, and which ridge is supposed to be the boundary between Lower Canada and the United States; at least such appears to be the way in which the treaty of 1783 is construed by the American government; but which ought, more fairly, to be understood as follows, namely, that the astronomical line running north from the St Croix should extend only to the first or easterly ridge, and thence run westerly, along the crest of the said ridge, to the Connecticut; thereby equitably dividing the

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waters flowing into the St Lawrence from those that empty into the Atlantic within the limits of the United States; and those that have their estuaries within the British province of New Brunswick.' p. 281.

The author of the work here quoted does not undertake to say precisely where the highlands here described meet the line running north from the source of the St Criox. But it is quite apparent that no highlands branching eastward, on the south side of the upper waters of the St John, extend to the bay of Chaleurs, as described in the proclamation of 1763, and in the Quebec act of 1774; and that they consequently cannot form one side of the angle described in the treaty of 1783. The nature of this claim is more clearly stated in the following paragraph, from the essays of 'Verax.'

'Before proceeding farther, I will state what I understand to be *the British claim*, with regard to the northwest angle of Nova Scotia. This claim places the angle at the point in the line running due north from the source of the St Croix, which meets the highlands at or near *Mars Hill;* and according to this claim, the angle is formed by a line running from the northwesternmost head of Connecticut river, the second station in the boundary, along the highlands which divide the river Chaudiere and its several branches, this being a river falling into the river St Lawrence, from the rivers Androscoggin, Kennebec, and Penobscot; this line being continued along the highlands in that quarter in such a manner as to leave all the branches of the Androscoggin, Kennebec, and Penobscot, to the southward of the line, and within the United States, until it meets the line drawn due north from the source of the St Croix, at or near Mars Hill. The point in the due north line thus claimed on our part as the northwest angle of Nova Scotia, is about forty miles from the source of the St Croix, and about the same distance within or to the southward of the place where this line is in its prolongation made to cross the river St John.'

It can hardly be necessary to remark, that the angle here described, so far from being the northwest angle of Nova Scotia, described in the treaty, is no angle whatever of Nova Scotia, but an angle on the American side of the line. To form an angle of Nova Scotia, it would be necessary to prolong the highland line, on the Nova Scotia side. To this there are two obstacles, the first, that there are no highlands extending westerly or northwesterly from Mars Hill, and the second, that if there were any such highlands, they would not constitute the

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northern boundary of Nova Scotia (now New Brunswick), but would divide it into two parts. It will not be denied, that there have long been settlements under the jurisdiction of New Brunswick, along the whole course of the St John, to the Grand Falls, forty miles north of this pretended angle; and that the province has been uniformly considered as extending still farther north, to the highlands which we have before indicated, or to the river Ristigouche, rising in those highlands, and flowing easterly into the bay of Chaleurs. Even the settlements higher up on the St John, within the territory claimed by us, and on the Madawaska river, are claimed by the government of New Brunswick, as coming within that province, and so they are represented in Bonner's map of Nova Scotia, published in 1820. It is by virtue of that jurisdiction, acquired not by any extension of the limits of the province since the date of the treaty, but exercised under powers similar to those granted previous to that date, that Baker was lately arrested on the Madawaska river, and carried to Fredericton for trial, for an alleged violation of the laws of New Brunswick. Yet according to this writer, the northwest angle of New Brunswick is at Mars Hill, a hundred miles to the southeast of the place where this violation of the laws of New Brunswick was committed, and according to his own hypothesis the only angle described at Mars Hill is on the American side.

After so fatal an objection to the designation of the point where, according to the treaty, the boundary line is to begin, it may seem superfluous to examine this assumption farther. But we proceed to consider the reasons assigned by 'Verax,' in support of this singular paradox. He says, that 'the parties agree in considering the Androscoggin, the Kennebec, and the Penobscot, as rivers falling into the Atlantic ocean, within the meaning of the treaty, and consequently as rivers intended by the treaty to be divided by the line of boundary along the highlands, from the rivers falling into the river St Lawrence.' We admit with him that the parties agree in considering the rivers here named, as falling into the Atlantic ocean, but not as the principal rivers intended by the words of the treaty. Nor are these rivers divided, except on a small portion of its course, by the line of highlands described by 'Verax,' from the rivers falling into the St Lawrence; but two thirds of this line, runs between the rivers named by him and the St John, which, instead of running into the river or bay of St Lawrence, falls

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into the Bay of Fundy, on the Atlantic side of the province of New Brunswick, and at a point but a few miles distant from the open ocean. Although he can overlook this objection to the line assumed by him, he considers it a conclusive objection to a line running between the waters of the St Lawrence and those of the St John, that the latter river does not fall into the Atlantic ocean. To any one who will look at the map, and observe not only how natural, but how near to literal accuracy it is, to class the St John with the Penobscot and Kennebec, as rivers running into the Atlantic, in contradistinction from the Chaudiere, and other streams running into the St Lawrence, this objection must appear extremely frivolous. The Bay of Fundy is a small arm of the Atlantic ocean, and the St John may with the same propriety be said to run into the ocean, in distinction from those rivers which run into the St Lawrence, as the Delaware, Potomac, or Connecticut rivers to run into the Atlantic, since each of these rivers actually terminates in a bay or sound, having a particular appellation, to distinguish it from the ocean. What makes the objection more frivolous is, that the alternative by which it is proposed to avoid it, is to adopt such a line as requires us to consider this same river St John, as running into the St Lawrence; for otherwise the line does not divide these two classes of rivers, as required by the treaty.

The next reason given in favor of a line, beginning at a point far different from that described by the treaty, and dividing the sources of different classes of rivers from those described, is, that 'it is the manifest intention of the treaty, in this part of the boundary along the highlands, to divide rivers at their sources, and thereby to leave each power, the whole extent of the rivers emptying within its own territory.' So far from admitting it to be manifest that this was the intention of the framers of the treaty, it appears to us manifest that this was not their intention. Had it been their intention they would have so expressed it. On the contrary, we conceive it was their intention to divide the territory in the same manner as it had been divided between the colonies, and that this intention was carried into execution, by copying almost literally the language of previous acts of the crown, by which these provinces had been constituted. In establishing the province of Quebec, it was the intention of the crown of Great Britain, to divide it from the Atlantic provinces of Nova Scotia and Maine, by the highlands, and by the boun-

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dary line to 'divide the rivers by their sources.' But it was also the pleasure of the crown, in establishing the province of Nova Scotia, to divide it from Maine, by an astronomical line running due north from the source of the St Croix, and the pleasure of the framers of the treaty to adopt the same boundary. It cannot be pretended, that at the date of the commission to Montague Wilmot, in 1763, to be governor of Nova Scotia, or at the date of the treaty in 1783, it was supposed by any one, that a line running north from the St Croix would divide the rivers by their sources.

It was proved before the commission, for determining which branch of the St Croix was intended by the treaty, that the commissioners who framed that treaty, had before them for their government, Mitchell's Map of the British and French Dominions of North America. This map was published in 1755. The course of the St Croix is not very accurately laid down upon it, and but one branch of that river is exhibited. The St John, however, is more correctly drawn. The line dividing Nova Scotia from Maine, drawn on this map due north from the St Croix to the highlands, intersects the St John, nearly in the same point as on the maps of the present day. The head waters of that river are so clearly represented by this map as within the limits of New England, that a part of the name extends across the river, towards the northeast. In the large map drawn by Jefferys, prefixed to the memorials of the English and French commissioners, on the question of the limits of Nova Scotia or Acadia, published in 1755, the course of the upper parts of the St John and its branches, is laid down with nearly the same accuracy as on the maps of the present day. A line drawn due north from the source of the St Croix, would leave about half the course of the river, and all its upper branches, on the New England side of the line. On this map, as well as on Mitchell's, both Nova Scotia and New England are represented as extending to the St Lawrence, both maps having been published previous to the cession of Canada to Great Britain, and consequently before the highlands were established as the boundary.

In the particulars above described, all the maps published for thirty years before the treaty, which could be regarded as any authority, agree so far at least as to show that the line running due north from the St Croix, to a point where the waters run into the St Lawrence, must cross the St John, and

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leave all its head waters on the western side. Indeed the geography of the interior of that country was nearly as well known, and as accurately delineated on the maps, as at the present time. No person, therefore, with any accurate knowledge of the geography of the country, or with such a knowledge of it as would be afforded by the maps in common use at the date of the treaty, especially with Mitchell's map before him, if it had been his intention to describe a boundary line, that should 'leave each power the whole extent of the rivers emptying within its own territory,' could have made use of the language to be found in the treaty; for this language manifestly expresses a different intention. This intention was, that the provinces of Nova Scotia and Quebec should continue to possess the same limits, which had been described for them twenty years before. If any further proof of this is necessary, we will refer to several maps, with which every reader at that day, conversant with the geography of the country, must have been familiar. In 1776, a large sheet map of 'the province of Quebec, according to the proclamation of 1763,' was published by Sayer and Bennett, London. On this map the southern boundary of the province of Quebec is accurately laid down, along the ridge of mountains before described, from the head of the Connecticut river, running north of the sources of the St John, to the head of the Ristigouche, and following that river, to the bay of Chaleurs. The representation of the course of the St John, on this map, is nearly correct. A map, in four sheets, of North America and the West Indies, divided according to the treaty of 1763, purporting to be corrected from the original materials of Governor Pownall, was also published by Sayer and Bennett in 1777. Upon this map the western boundary of Nova Scotia is accurately marked, running north from the St Croix, and crossing the St John in the proper point. In Jeffery's 'History of the French Dominions in North America,' published in London in 1761, is the same map, before described as attached to the memorials of the commissioners, and also a map of North America from a French map of D'Anville. On this last the western boundary line of Nova Scotia is marked, along the St Croix, and from the source of that river due north, crossing the St John, to the St Lawrence. We might describe several other maps, published before the treaty, which agree in these features, but as we find none that do not agree, it would be a superfluous labor to cite more.

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If it had been the intention of the framers of the treaty, to divide the territory on the principle that all the rivers should be divided by their sources, it would have been easy to express this intention. But in that case, the line would not run to Mars Hill. It is impossible to consider this height as forming a part of the highlands intended in the treaty, on any construction. This height divides no waters except the branches of the St John. The line running north from the source of the St Croix passes two rivers, branches of the St John, the Meduxnekeag and the Presque Isle, besides smaller streams, before reaching Mars Hill. The line in fact meets waters running northeasterly into the St John, within three miles from the monument, at the source of the St Croix. If the line must divide the waters of the St John from those of the Penobscot, it must depart in a southwesterly direction from the monument itself, that is, from the southwest, instead of the northwest angle of Nova Scotia. One of the branches of the St John, which is crossed by the northern line near the monument, has its sources in a southwesterly direction from the monument, a few miles distant from the source of the St Croix.

Another reason given in favor of the assumption, that the highlands intended by the treaty are to be found at Mars Hill, is that the land at this point is literally higher than the ridge between the St John and the St Lawrence. This argument would be of little weight, if it were founded in well attested fact, since it is admitted that the ground is sufficiently elevated on the latter ridge, to divide the waters according to the supposition in the treaty. But this fact is by no means proved. Mars Hill is a solitary elevation of no great height, unconnected with any range of mountains. The country west of it, and south of the St John, where it is pretended the ridge of mountains is to be found which terminates in this hill, is not mountainous. Seven ranges of townships, extending more than forty miles in width from the New Brunswick line, have been surveyed, and it is found that the land is nearly all fit for culvation, and that, although not a flat country, it is as level as almost any part of New England of equal extent. A route has also been surveyed for a road, from the mouth of Fish river, on the St John to the Penobscot, and the land was found to be extremely favorable for the construction of a road, and very little impeded by hills. The high and mountainous

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country referred to by 'Verax,' bordering on Mount Katahdin, is situated far distant, between the branches of the Penobscot.

'With regard to the line claimed by the Americans,' Verax says, 'I believe the fact to be, as I formerly stated, and as is virtually admitted by their writers, that there are no prominent highlands, either at the angle, or along by far the greater part of the line. These writers, we have seen, endeavor to supply this deficiency by a deduction from the physical laws of nature, that the land is necessarily higher at the sources of rivers than at their mouths.'

A tolerably fair deduction, we should suppose, at least until there is some proof of the contrary. Verax has cited no authority in support of his belief that there are no highlands. We will, however, meet him with proof, that the whole country along which we contend the line ought to be drawn is high and mountainous. For this proof, we rely on no less authority than that of Colonel Bouchette, the surveyor-general of Lower Canada, and the author of more full and satisfactory descriptions and maps of this province, than have yet been published of almost any other portion of North America. We have already copied his general description of the range of highlands in question, extending from the sources of Connecticut river to Cape Rosieres on the Gulf of St Lawrence. His maps illustrate and confirm this description. In the whole length of the ridge, west of the unfinished road from the Kennebec to the Chaudiere, it is intersected by but a single road, and this is made probably at the least elevated part of the ridge, and where the mountains present the fewest obstacles to the construction of it. The sources of the streams running into the St John, are here very near those running into the St Lawrence. This road was first opened by General Haldimand, in 1783. It was an achievement of great difficulty, and of great importance, it being the only route, by land, from Quebec to Halifax. The part of it which crosses the highlands is thus described by Colonel Bouchette. 'From the main road of the St Lawrence, where the portage road branches off, to Long's Farm on the branch of lake Timiscouata, the distance is thirty-seven miles; the direction of the road is generally to the eastward, but it has numerous turns and windings, to avoid ascending several very lofty and rugged hills, or crossing deep swamps; as it is, about twenty-four miles of the distance is over a succession of mountains, many

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of them rough and very steep. However none of the formidable impediments exist that were formerly considered as insurmountable.' 'The principal mountains over which the road runs are the St François, Côte de la Grande Fourche, Jean Paradis, La Montagne de la Rivière Verte, and du Buard; the rivers are du Loup, Rivière Verte, and Trois Pistoles, that flow into the St Lawrence, and the Rivière St François, that falls into the river St John. At Long's Farm the traveller cannot fail to be pleased with a beautiful and picturesque prospect of lake Timiscouata, twenty-two miles in length, by the average breadth of three quarters of a mile, encompassed in all directions by lofty mountains, covered with thick wood almost down to its margin. Several large rivers lend the aid of their powerful streams to swell the waters of this romantic and secluded expanse.' This, it should be observed, is a description of the part of the ridge which is selected for a road, not as the most direct, but the most practicable point for passing it. The seigniories of Isle Verte, Dartigny, Trois Pistoles, and Richard Rioux, extending along the St Lawrence, east of the above road, for about fifty miles, run back from the river from two to four leagues, and are bounded in the rear by the waste lands on the north side of the mountain ridge. These waste lands, not having been surveyed, are not described by Colonel Bouchette; but of the four seigniories, above named, he says, they 'are nearly throughout their whole extent mountainous and rugged; the great northeasterly ridge ranges so close to the river as to leave only a narrow slip between it and the shore. This space possesses a moderately good soil, upon which there are a few settlements, under a respectable state of husbandry; there are also several patches of good land more in the interior lying in the hollows between the ridges.' Isle Verte is 'watered by Rivière Verte, which has its source in the mountains south of Timiscouata portage, and flows in a northerly direction into the St Lawrence; it has a ferry over it at the main road.' 'Trois Pistoles is intersected by a large river of the same name, whose current is supplied from several small lakes among the mountains that surround the end of lake of Timiscouata.' From the magnitude and length of these rivers, it is manifest, that although this mountainous ridge approaches very near the shore of the St Lawrence, it continues to rise as it recedes from the river, to a considerable distance. The distance of the height of land from the St Lawrence, in its most northerly part, is from twenty to thirty miles. Of the

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seigniories of Bic, Rimouski, St Barnabé, Lessard, Le Page, Pachot, and Metis, lying still farther east, and extending beyond the line running due north from the source of the St Croix, Bouchette says, 'the general surface of these seigniories is mountainous, and broken along the front, affording but little good soil for the purposes of agriculture. In the interior, and by the side of the rivers that water them, a few patches of tolerable land, with some meadows and pastures, present themselves.'

On the western side of the portage road, the first seigniory is the Rivière du Loup, which is described as 'uneven and mountainous,' and bounded in the rear by waste crown lands. The three next seigniories are described as having some fertile patches of land, 'but as the northeasterly chain of mountains draws closer upon the river [that is, closer than in the more westerly parts] a great part of them is very mountainous.' These also are bounded by waste lands in the rear. The next seigniory on the west, Camouraska, is described as low and fertile near the river, but 'towards the rear it loses some of its goodness and fertility, as it becomes mountainous.' 'From the bank of the river, which is not much elevated, a plain that generally speaking is very level, stretches almost to the foot of the northeast range of mountains.' The next seigniory, St Denis, is partly mountainous, and bounded in the rear by unsurveyed lands. The next, the Rivière Ouelle, is watered by the river of the same name, which has its source 'in the northeast range of mountains, from whence it winds a serpentine course down to the St Lawrence.' In the next seigniory, St Anne, 'the land approaching the mountains is of good quality.' The next seigniory, St Roch des Annais, is described as low, 'but about the rear boundaries the mountains form a close chain of considerable height.' Several other seigniories, farther towards the southeast, are described as extending back from the river to the mountains. A wide tract of country in the rear of these seigniories, extending back to the summit of the ridge, from which a great number of streams descend, remains ungranted, and unsurveyed, and is not described in the work of Colonel Bouchette, except in the general description of the range of mountains. The height of these mountains is probably entirely unknown, as we do not find any evidence that their summits have ever been approached by human footsteps, or that any one has ever penetrated, on either side,

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the wilderness which surrounds them. It is known that the Connecticut river at the forty-fifth degree of latitude is near two thousand feet above the level of the sea, and there are repeated falls in its course from its source to that point. The Chaudiere river is full of falls, some of them of great height. It is therefore certain that the lands are high which divide their sources. The country through which a road is marked out from the Chaudiere to the Kennebec, Bouchette says, is mountainous, but 'the chain of mountains is not so closely connected, as to render it impracticable, or even difficult to open a road through the passes between them.' A road from the Penobscot has been marked out, over similar ground, a little farther north. From this point to lake Timiscouata, where the Nova Scotia road passes, a distance of one hundred and fifty miles, there is reason to believe there is a continued chain of high mountains, and also from lake Timiscouata to the Gulf of St Lawrence. In the foregoing description, all the passages quoted are from Colonel Bouchette. We might add citations to a similar effect from other authors.

The objection, therefore, that there are no highlands where they have been heretofore supposed to exist, and where they are described in the treaty, we conceive, is satisfactorily removed. It is very certain, that the range of mountains along that whole line is higher than the highlands between the St John and Penobscot, terminating at Mars Hill, where it is certain there is no range of mountains whatever. We have seen the field-book of the surveys, both of the road abovementioned, and of the seven ranges of townships surveyed between the St John and the Penobscot, and they afford abundant proof, that the country is remarkably free from mountains and highlands.

One other reason is given, in both the tracts named at the head of this article, why the treaty should not be so construed as to make the eastern boundary cross the St John. It is, that the American government instructed their agents for negotiating the treaty, to endeavor to obtain a boundary line running through the middle of the St John river, from its mouth to its source, but that they, after proposing this line, receded from it, on finding that the St Croix was the charter limit of the claim of Massachusetts, and agreed to the terms as finally adopted. The plain inference from these facts, Verax contends, is, 'that it was in the contemplation of the negotiators of

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the treaty of 1783, by the line of boundary, as they ultimately described it, to leave within the territories of his majesty the whole of the river St John, from its mouth to its source.' We do not perceive any ground for such an inference. The first American demand included a large tract of the settled part of one of the colonies, which had not joined the Union, as its limits were definitively settled twenty years before. In receding from this demand, and agreeing to the previously established line between the colonies which were to be separated, they yielded a part of Nova Scotia, fifty miles in width, bordering on the sea, but obtained, instead of it, a tract of inland country, of about equal extent, without inhabitants, and then considered of but little value. It is to be presumed that even now, with all the importance attached by the colonies to the possession of a route of communication between New Brunswick and Quebec, they would be very unwilling to make the exchange proposed in the first offer of the American commissioners. If, therefore, our commissioners, in relinquishing their first proposal, acceded to one more favorable to Great Britain, upon our construction of it, we do not perceive how the fact of the first proposal affords any presumption that our construction is wrong. On the contrary, the history of this transaction shows that the parties deliberately, and after inquiry and discussion, adopted the previously existing boundary; for it appears, as stated by Verax, that 'the British commissioners first claimed to Piscataqua river, then to the Kennebec, then to the Penobscot, and at length to the St Croix, as marked on Mitchell's map.' We have already seen, that a line drawn directly north from the source of the St Croix to the highlands, on this map, crosses the St John in about the same part of its course, that such a line would, when drawn on the most accurate maps of the present day.

It has been argued, that in determining this boundary, a literal construction of the terms of the treaty ought not be insisted on, against its spirit, and the presumed intention of the parties. If there were any reason to suppose, that the intention of the parties is not fully expressed by the terms of the treaty, as we interpret them, there might be some force in the argument. We have given our reasons for believing that the contracting parties could have had no other intention, than that which they expressed—that this intention was to determine the national boundary, by the limits previously established for

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the colonies; and that these previously established limits corresponded with our construction of the terms of the treaty. It has been contended that even this is too severe a construction, and that we ought to interpret the treaty, not by reference to what were legally the boundaries of the several provinces, but by ascertaining what those boundaries were practically, and what was the actual jurisdiction exercised by the several colonial governments, and the extent of territory over which they were supposed to extend. On this ground it is contended, that as at the date of the treaty there were inhabitants on the Madawaska, and upper St John rivers, who had previously emigrated from Nova Scotia, and who have been considered inhabitants of that province, and subject to its jurisdiction, it must be presumed to have been the intention of the framers of the treaty to include that territory within the limits of Nova Scotia. In point of fact, we believe, it was not known at the time, either to the framers of the treaty, or even to the government of Nova Scotia, that there were any such inhabitants in existence. They have been claimed since, but not until long after the date of the treaty, as within the jurisdiction of the province of New Brunswick. The original settlers were exclusively French families, who fled from the peninsula of Nova Scotia, probably at some period between the date of the treaty of Utrecht, and the time when all the French population of that colony was expelled by the British settlers, about the year 1749. They were afterwards joined by some French families from Canada, and recently by some few emigrants from the United States. Their present numbers are supposed to be about three thousand. They settled there without any permission or grant from any government, and their motive for burying themselves in this wilderness was, not to extend the limits of the province of Nova Scotia, but to escape from its jurisdiction. It is believed that no authority whatever was exercised over them by the government of New Brunswick for more than twenty years after the date of the treaty. That their settlement there did not extend thither the jurisdiction of the province, will appear from the following passages, which we cite from an act of the General Assembly of Nova Scotia, passed in the year 1759, 'for quieting of possessions to the Protestant grantees of lands, previously occupied by the French inhabitants.' In the preamble of this act, there is a recital of the measures which had been adopted by

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the government of the province, to secure it against what are called the treacherous practices of the French inhabitants, who had steadily refused to take the oath of allegiance to the crown of Great Britain. In this recital it is stated, among other things, that if these French inhabitants had not 'been timely removed, by the prudence and vigilancy of his excellency the present governor, from the said lands and territories, into other his majesty's dominions, this invaluable province, during the course of this war, must inevitably have fallen into the hands of his majesty's enemies, the French.' The act goes on to sanction the removal of the French inhabitants, and the confiscation of all their estates, and provides that no action shall be sustained in any court of the province, 'for the recovery of any of the lands within the same, by virtue of any former right, title, claim, interest, or possession of any of the former French inhabitants,' or by virtue of any title derived from them in any manner. This act was in force, we believe, to the date of the treaty, if it is not to this day; and it affords presumptive evidence, that if the French inhabitants on the St John and Madawaska were known to be there, they were supposed to be beyond the limits of the province. The first settlers probably emigrated from the vicinity of Port Royal, after the cession of Nova Scotia by the treaty of Utrecht, and before the forcible expulsion of the French inhabitants in 1749, for those who were then removed, were mostly carried to Louisiana or the West Indies. It is understood that the emigrants to the Madawaska country first established themselves at a place within the present limits of New Brunswick, and after a few years' residence there, wishing to withdraw themselves farther from the invaders of their native possessions, retired to the spot which they and their children now inhabit, where they lived for many years without any, or at least with very little communication with the rest of the world. But whatever might have been the date of their emigration, and even if they had settled upon these lands with the knowledge and consent of the government of Nova Scotia, which however is not pretended, the existence of this poor, secluded, and neglected settlement, could not extend the limits of the province beyond those which were established for it by the royal authority; nor can it afford a presumption that the framers of the treaty intended to enlarge those limits, when it is apparent from the terms of the treaty, that no such intention is expressed.

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We find nothing to invalidate, in any degree, the claim made by our government; for it appears very clearly, that they claim no territory, which before the treaty belonged either to the province of Quebec, or to Nova Scotia; that it was the intention of the treaty to preserve to those provinces the territory which previously belonged to them, and no more; that the territory, not included within the limits of those provinces, belonged before the Revolution to the Province of Maine, then a part of Massachusetts, and that by the treaty of peace this territory was described by boundaries which cannot be mistaken, and by that description was declared to be within the limits of the United States. If we have dwelt more at length upon this question, than its merits might seem to require, it has been only on account of the importance it has assumed, in being made a subject of serious negotiation between the two governments, and a question of so much difficulty as to require the interposition of a third power, in the character of an umpire.

ART. VI.—*Essai Historique sur la Révolution de Paraguay et le Gouvernement Dictatorial du Docteur Francia.* Par MM. RENGGER et LONGCHAMP, Docteurs en Medicine, Membres de la Société Helvétique des Sciences Naturelles. 8vo. pp. 300. Paris. 1827.

THE internal situation of the province of Paraguay, one of the most important of those which constituted the ancient viceroyalty of Buenos Aires, has been for some years past entirely unknown, not merely to the distant nations of Europe and America, but to every person not actually within its limits. Ever since the present ruler established himself at the head of the government, no individual, whether native or foreigner, had been permitted until very recently to quit the territory; and so perfectly was this system of non-intercourse carried into effect, that, as we are informed by the authors of the work before us, the inhabitants of Buenos Aires, and even of the bordering city of Corrientes, were as completely ignorant of what was passing in Paraguay, as those of New York or London. The singularity of these proceedings naturally excited much

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curiosity respecting the person and character of the ruler of the province in question, who is generally known abroad under the simple appellation of Doctor Francia, although it appears from the present account that his official style is nothing less than *The Most Excellent Lord Don Joseph Gaspar Rodriguez de Francia, Supreme and Perpetual Dictator of the Republic of Paraguay.* This curiosity was not unmingled, we imagine, with a certain degree of respect. Mystery excites the imagination, and, as Tacitus justly observes, we are apt to overrate the value of things unknown; *omnei gnotum pro magnifico.* It was also understood that Dr Francia had succeeded in restoring and maintaining tranquillity throughout the province under his government; and this result, by whatever means accomplished, was thought by some to argue the possession of much intellectual power and political skill. The name of Paraguay had been connected with associations of an interesting and somewhat poetical kind, from having been the seat of the celebrated missionary establishments of the Jesuits; and many persons, connecting the title of the present ruler, with the scene of his labors, had been led to suppose that he was himself one of the fathers of that order, and that he employed, in governing his province, the same machinery which had formerly been used by them with such remarkable success. This was the impression, which we had ourselves taken up respecting the Doctor; and we avow that in the simplicity of our hearts, we had given him credit for a large share of deep design and insinuating gentleness of manner, mingled with certain grains of the pious fraud and convenient mental reservation, which the Jesuits, as is well known, made no scruple to put in practice when occasion required. In the mean time, while the world was amusing itself with conjectures about his character, the Doctor on his part rigorously maintained his embargo, and closed his clutches without remorse upon every unlucky straggler, who happened in an evil hour to find his way into this vast man-trap. All the footsteps that were to be seen on the road to Paraguay pointed—like those that led to the lion's den in Æsop—in one direction. Among the persons detained in this way was the distinguished French naturalist Bonpland, whose fate has excited in a high degree the sympathy of the friends of science, and given additional notoriety to the strange policy to which it was owing.

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In consequence of all this, the public had become at last very curious to know something more about the matter; and the appearance of the present volume, which we owe to two apparently very intelligent and enterprising Swiss physicians, Messrs Rengger and Longchamp, has been welcomed with great interest. While it removes completely the veil that so long overhung the mysterious region in question, and gives a full account of the life, character, and personal habits of its ruler, it unfortunately dissipates at the same time all the favorable presumptions that may have been formed respecting him. Instead of a mild, smooth-tongued, and politic priest, the worthy dictator turns out to be neither more nor less than a little South American Bonaparte, who has contrived to exhibit upon the theatre of a colonial province, containing hardly two hundred thousand inhabitants, substantially the same qualities which distinguished the 'man of destiny,' although, it must be owned, under forms somewhat less graceful and imposing. The political course of Dr Francia has in fact been evidently modelled upon that of Napoleon, as our readers will plainly see, in the sequel of this article; but as the dictator's taste and information have not been uniformly upon a level with the high reach of his ambition, his imitation often has an air of burlesque. His dictatorship commencing at about the period when the reign of the emperor came to a close, might therefore have been looked upon as a sort of coarse and farcical afterpiece to the splendid tragedy of the French Revolution, were it not unhappily too deeply stained with blood, to be viewed in the main with any other sentiment but disgust and horror.

The subject of the volume before us is, however, on all accounts, extremely interesting, and our readers will not, we think, be dissatisfied if we lay before them a pretty full account of its contents. The authors went out to South America, for the purpose of making researches in natural history; and, landing at Buenos Aires, they proceeded up the river as far as Corrientes, which was then in possession of Artigas, and in a state of complete anarchy. Nothing was known at this place of the internal condition of Paraguay, but it was generally supposed to be much more tranquil and prosperous than the neighboring regions. Our authors, therefore, with a view of escaping from the tumult around them, as well as of prosecuting their scientific inquiries, determined to pursue still farther their voyage up the river. They found, however, pretty soon, that they had gained

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very little by the change of residence, and upon their arrival at Assumption, were immediately put under embargo, and detained not less than six years. During this period, they seem to have acquired (by means which they have not thought it necessary to state in detail) a certain degree of favor with the Dictator; and finally, by great good fortune, succeeded in obtaining his permission to quit the country. They propose to publish in a separate and more extensive work their scientific and other observations upon Paraguay. The present treatise is exclusively taken up with the character and administration of the ruler. We extract from the introduction a succinct account of the circumstances under which our travellers entered the country, and of the motives which induced them to publish the work.

'On the first of May, 1818, Mr Longchamp and I embarked for Buenos Aires, intending to proceed from thence either to Chile or Paraguay. The object of this voyage was to collect further information respecting the natural history of those regions. the attainment of which we thought would be facilitated by our knowledge of medicine. On our arrival at Buenos Aires, we made some inquiries about the countries we were to visit, and decided in favor of Paraguay, as being the part of the continent which was least known, and which enjoyed the greatest degree of tranquillity. Although Dr Francia had been for many years at the head of affairs in that quarter, no one in Buenos Aires had the least idea of the form of government established there, and Paraguay was considered as the most peaceable of the provinces. On the third of August of the same year, we embarked on the Parana, and proceeded as far as Corrientes, a town situated on the left bank of that river, near its junction with the Paraguay. In the course of this voyage, which lasted some weeks, we had opportunities of observing the desolating effects of the government of Artigas. One of his lieutenants, at the head of a party of Indians belonging to the late missions of Entre Rios, being himself an Indian, was commanding at Corrientes at the time of our arrival. His depredations, which were particularly injurious to the commerce of Paraguay, had completely cut off all communication with that territory; nor was it reëstablished till after an interval of eight months, when the Indians had retired. We therefore considered ourselves very fortunate in being able to quit a country which was involved in complete anarchy. There, as at Buenos Aires, no one knew anything of Dr Francia, except that he had established perfect order in the country; on which account many families had been induced to resort to it as a place

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of safety against the persecutions of Artigas. Pursuing our course up the river Paraguay, we reached Assumption on the 30th of July, 1819. What was our surprise, when the persons to whom we were addressed, recommended to us the strictest circumspection as a necessary rule of conduct, without giving any further explanation! Happily for us, an Englishman of the name of Dr Parlet, made us acquainted with the character and government of Dr Francia, a circumstance of which we availed ourselves from our first audience. All that had been done by the Doctor up to that period, was however only the prelude to the grand scene, of which we were unwilling witnesses during the space of six years. I shall not enter into any details respecting our residence in Paraguay, or the occupations in which we were engaged, since this will constitute the principal subject of the narrative of our voyage and of a work on the natural history of that country. Suffice it here to say, that in May, 1825, the Dictator finally granted us permission to depart in a ship bound for Buenos Aires, and that we immediately embraced the opportunity.

'Scarcely had we passed the borders of Paraguay, when we were assailed with questions about Dr Francia. At the very doors of this province a profound ignorance prevailed as to its government. At Buenos Aires, where we made another stay of several months; at the Brazils, where contrary winds obliged us to stop; and finally in Europe, where we arrived in the beginning of May, 1826, fresh motives occurred to confirm us in our opinion, that the Doctor was there also an object of general curiosity. According to the greater or less degree of faith given by each to the fabulous and extraordinary accounts of the travellers who had visited the coasts of America, different persons had formed different notions respecting Dr Francia and his government. With some he was a sage, who from a desire to civilize his fellow citizens and preserve them from the horrors of a revolution, had separated them from the rest of the world; with others he was a usurper, whose design it was to enrich himself with the spoils of his country. Some, who observed a religious order reviving in Europe, the name of which is inseparable from that of Paraguay, thought they recognised in the person of this man of the new world, an agent of the Jesuits. In fine, the enemies of the emancipation of America were fain to behold in Dr Francia, the supporter of a fallen power, and the future avenger of the mother country.

'In order to enable the public to form a correct opinion of this mysterious personage, we have resolved to detach this first part of our voyage from the body of the narrative, and to publish it separately. Although it has been compiled by me exclusively, it is but just to observe, that the greater part of the facts have been witnessed by Mr Longchamp as well as by myself, and that they

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are related by agreement between us. The best guarantee, however, that we can offer for the truth of this picture is, that nothing less than the loss of our heads would have been the consequence of any mistake that we might have made as to the character of Dr Francia. It is thus, that from motives of self-preservation, the traveller who journeys over the deserts of a great continent, is obliged, though not a naturalist, to study the habits of the tiger or the jaguar.'

After these introductory explanations the authors proceed to give a very rapid view of the early events of the revolution in the viceroyalty of Buenos Aires, with which our readers are generally acquainted, and upon which we need not enlarge. In the year 1810, the revolutionary government, which had just been established in the city of that name (where the viceroy had been deposed and the supreme authority committed to a junta acting in the name of Ferdinand the Seventh), despatched a small force into Paraguay, for the purpose of securing the adhesion of that province. This expedition proved unsuccessful, and the invading army, after gaining some advantages in the first instance, were afterwards completely overpowered and mostly made prisoners. A small remnant capitulated and left the country. The next year however (1811), the principal Creoles and some of the leading Spanish officers formed a conspiracy for the same general purpose, which was attended with more success. The leaders of it prevailed on the governor to assemble a convention of the principal persons of the province. Our authors say but little of the proceedings of this convention, and that little they seem to have learned from incorrect sources. We find the subject more fully treated in a Spanish manuscript account of the early events of this revolution, which we have in our possession. There appears to have been a considerable display of eloquence upon this occasion, and in the manuscript alluded to, the speeches of the governor, of the bishop (who was subsequently so strongly affected by the progress of affairs as to lose his reason), and of Don Joseph Antonio Yegros, one of the principal Creoles, are reported at great length, and perhaps with much accuracy. We learn from the same account, that there appeared at this assembly not less than seven royal governors, who had been successively appointed by different corporations, pretending to exercise the authority of the king of Spain. The convention was first called upon to decide whom it would acknowledge in this latter capacity. Upon this

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question opinions were much divided, and the vote stood as follows;

For Charles the Fourth	73
Ferdinand the Seventh	86
Joseph Bonaparte	70

Ferdinand was accordingly declared to be the legitimate monarch. The result of the deliberations of this convention was not therefore, as our authors suppose, a declaration of independence, but a formal acknowledgment of the sovereignty of Spain. The assembly next decided, by a vote of two hundred and twenty-nine to thirty-eight, that the seven royal governors and the commissioner of Buenos Aires should be furnished with passports; that the resignation of the acting governor, Velasco, should be accepted; and that the royal authority should be exercised by a junta, to be named by the governor himself, who does not seem, as our authors state, to have been forcibly deposed, but to have resigned of his own accord, and to have enjoyed in a high degree the esteem and confidence of the people. A junta was accordingly appointed, and immediately installed with the general approbation. It consisted of a president, two other members, and a secretary having a right to vote. Don Fulgencio de Yegros was the president, and the secretary was the future dictator, then denominated simply Dr Francia. As this is the first appearance of the Doctor on the political stage, our authors very properly introduce here an account of his origin and early life, which we extract entire.

'The history of the revolution of Paraguay being in fact the history of Dr Francia, it seems proper to give a brief account of the character and early life of this personage. His father, a native of France, went over in his youth to Portugal, and from thence to Paraguay, where he married a Creole. Although in this latter country he is considered as of Portuguese origin, the Doctor himself denies the fact, and maintains that his family is French. Having been at first intended for the church, or, according to his own expression, *condemned to study theology*, he commenced his education in the wretched schools kept by the friars of Assumption, but afterwards went to the university of Cordova del Tucuman, which was under the direction of the Franciscans since the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767. Here he made considerable progress, and took his degree of doctor of theology; but the study of the canon law having given him a taste for jurisprudence, he resolved on not taking orders, and became a lawyer.

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'Perhaps (at least it may be presumed from the sentiments subsequently expressed by him) the little faith he had in the dogmas of the church contributed to his adopting this resolution, no less than the taste he might have acquired for the study of jurisprudence. Besides, nothing was more common in America, than for young men who were intended for the bar to enter in the first instance upon a course of theology, as it also was for ecclesiastics, to devote themselves to the profession of the law. Upon his return to his country, Dr Francia distinguished himself by probity and undoubted integrity. He was never known to dishonor his profession by pleading an unjust cause, nor did he ever hesitate to defend the weak against the strong, or the poor against the rich. He never failed to exact considerable fees from those who were able to pay, and especially from those who were fond of lawsuits; but exhibited a singular disinterestedness when he knew that the means of his clients were scanty, or when unjust pretensions had brought them before the tribunals. Inheriting a moderate patrimony, he never sought to increase it. Half a house in town, and a little farm (chacra) in the country, constituted all his fortune and satisfied all his wishes. So indifferent was he to money, that finding himself one day in the possession of eight hundred dollars, and thinking such a sum a great deal too much for a single man, he carried it to the gaming-table.

'Being of a studious disposition, rather unsociable, and uniting to a taste for study the love of licentious pleasures, he remained a bachelor. He of course was never the head of a family; he rejected all tender sentiments, and was a stranger to friendship. In fine, the little information that was to be obtained in his intercourse with his countrymen, together with their total want of literary resources, prevented him from going much into their company. To this might be owing the inflexibility of character for which he was remarkable, and which has shown itself so singularly in his administration. He was also subject to frequent attacks of hypochondria, which had the effect of producing a sort of madness; a circumstance that may the more easily be accounted for, when we consider that his father was regarded as a very eccentric man, that his brother is insane, and that one of his sisters was for a long time in the same state.

'On arriving at manhood, Francia was elected member of the Cabildo or Council of Assumption, and subsequently held the office of alcalde. A man of his character could not but be independent even when in office, and such in fact he was both in his public and private capacity. He showed no anxiety to please either the governor or the Spaniards; and in defending his country against the pretensions of Spain, he proved as incorruptible a magistrate as he had been an upright judge. With such qualities

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he could not fail to conciliate the esteem and affection of his fellow citizens.'

The administration of the junta does not seem to have been remarkably brilliant. The president Yegros and his assistants were not men of business, and passed all their time in military parades and other public and private amusements. Francia was the only effective man, but he frequently found it impossible to overcome the obstacles he met with from his colleagues; and on such occasions repeatedly retired into the country, and declared that he would have nothing more to do with the government. His colleagues, who could not get on without him, were then compelled to give way, and persuade him by compliance to come back. His intentions seem to have been at this time pretty good, but he had already adopted his notion of an exclusive and independent system of administration. He concluded with Buenos Aires an arrangement of boundaries, but constantly refused to lend the least aid in the war against Spain. He was apparently more humane than his colleagues, and exerted himself occasionally with effect in preventing military executions.

This organization lasted about two years, when the junta, acting no doubt under the instigation of Francia, called another convention, which met at Assumption in 1813. This body is represented by our authors as having been very ill composed. Francia was almost the only member of it who possessed any reading or acquaintance with business, and he acquired in consequence a great influence. After a few sittings it was voted to change the form of government, and while they were casting about for the model of another, the Doctor brought forward, as a work of authority, Rollin's Roman History, one of the very few good books to be found in the country. After consulting this oracle, it was concluded to copy the model of the Eternal City, and substitute for the existing junta two annual consuls. The first choice fell, as might have been expected, on Francia, and Don Fulgencio Yegros was appointed his colleague. The former seems to have been at no great pains to conceal his intentions in regard to the degree of influence which he was to exercise in the new system. He directed two leather-bottomed armed chairs, or, as he called them, *curule seats*, to be prepared for the use of the consuls at their public sessions, on one of which was inscribed the name of *Cæsar* and on the other that of *Pompey*. On the first occasion that

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offered, the worthy Doctor, as we are told by our authors, modestly installed himself in the chair of the conqueror of Pharsalia, leaving to poor Yegros the less brilliant and somewhat ominous position of his less successful rival. If there was anything malicious in this disposition of names and assignment of seats, the conduct of Francia exhibited more frankness than policy; and it is not improbable that this farcical incident was in part accidental. Be that as it may, it appears that Francia was now pretty sure of his ground. Yegros, it is true, obtained at first the command of half the troops; but it was arranged between them, that the supreme power should be exercised by each in turn for four months in succession. Cæsar's turn, *comme de raison*, came before that of Pompey, and by this ingenious stratagem, the Doctor secured to himself the first and last four months, and left for his colleague only the intervening third of the year, at the end of which the functions of both were to close.

The latter, therefore, had apparently the better right to be dissatisfied with the operation of the consular system; but as ambition is one of those appetites which grow by what they feed on, the two thirds of the supreme power which he had obtained availed nothing to Francia, while his colleague possessed the other. In 1814, at the end of the first consular year, Congress met again at Assumption to renew the government, but instead of permitting them to do this quietly, Francia proposed to them to change the constitution a second time, and dispensing with the two consuls to commit the whole executive power to a single magistrate, whom (still recurring to his favorite authority, Rollin) he advised them to designate by the title of *Dictator*. This proposition was agreed to without much difficulty, and the assembly proceeded to elect their new ruler; but here the learned Doctor found himself more at a loss. Upon sounding the dispositions of the members of Congress, he found that by some strange accident it had not occurred to these honest Creoles that the person who proposed to institute a dictatorship, a consulate, a presidency for life, a protectorate, or any such laborious and troublesome office, may in almost all cases be prevailed upon, if sufficiently pressed, to fill it himself. For want of this obvious reflection, while they were quite ready to choose a dictator, they had not considered the Doctor as a candidate, and were mostly prepared to vote for Yegros. Pitying their simplicity, and fully

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aware, no doubt, that the shoulders of his colleague were not sufficiently Atlantean to support this burden, Francia prevailed upon the Congress to defer the vote till the next meeting. On the following day the subject was taken up again, and, strange as it may seem, the Doctor was again overlooked, and all eyes were turned, as before, upon Yegros, so that the would-be-dictator had no resource left but that of moving another adjournment. *The third time*, says the proverb, *never fails*. Before the next meeting the legislators of Paraguay had obtained some notion of the nature of their office, and as, to do them justice, they appear to have exhibited throughout a good deal of docility, whenever they could be brought to comprehend the Doctor's intentions, they now passed over Yegros, and voted unanimously for Francia.

It may not be improper to add, for the better understanding of these proceedings, that the deliberations of the Congress were assisted at this third meeting, by the presence of a strong guard of honor, which, by order of the learned Doctor, surrounded the church where the assembly was held. It cannot be doubted that the attention thus shown by this careful magistrate to the security and respectability of the proceedings, contributed greatly to enlighten the Congress of Paraguay, in regard to his qualifications for the dictatorship. It is known that similar precautions have had an equally good effect at certain critical periods in the history of other countries, and particularly on a late occasion, when a person who calls himself the *Liberator* (in better English *Deliverer*) was spontaneously chosen president for life of the republic of Peru, in consequence of having taken the trouble to inform the members of Congress, on the night before the election, that such as did not vote for him would be thrown into prison, and to shoot General Nicochea and a few other distinguished patriots *pour encourager les autres*. The Deliverer, we may remark, *en passant*, appears to have forgotten that the new lights, which are made to burst upon the vision of mere civilians by military guards and executions, uniformly vanish when the troops are withdrawn; and having imprudently set off upon a journey of two or three thousand miles for the purpose of *delivering* the Colombians in the same way, had the mortification to find his disciples in Peru relapsing, the moment his back was turned, into their former stupidity, and becoming again as insensible as ever to the beauties of the Bolivian Code, and the pretensions

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of its author to be president for life of all the republics, present and to come, in Spanish America. It has been noticed, as one of the singularities in the character of Washington, that his method of delivering republics was different, and that in reasoning with Congress upon the various topics of public interest which he had occasion from time to time to discuss with them, he never found it necessary to recur to the species of argument, which has since been used with so much temporary success at Assumption and Lima.

To return, however, from the Deliverer of Colombia to the Dictator of Paraguay (no very violent transition), it appears that his competitor, Yegros, was not at first as fully satisfied with the new arrangement as might have been wished. The portion of the army under his command exhibited a disposition to resist by force the authority of the new dictator, and there was some danger, for the moment, of a civil war. *Fortunately* (say our authors, we do not exactly see why,) an officer named Caballero, who commanded under Yegros, and who had great influence with the troops, although a personal enemy of Francia, exerted himself with success in appeasing the revolt. As a reward for his services on this occasion, he was arrested three or four years after by order of the Dictator, under pretext of being implicated in some conspiracy, real or supposed, and in order to escape the ignominy of a public execution, committed suicide in prison. The Dictator was elected in the first instance for the term of three years. The following extract will show the character of the measures, which he adopted for the purpose of confirming his authority, and of obtaining at the end of this term a reäppointment for life.

'As soon as Dr Francia found himself at the head of the republic, he established his residence in the house which had formerly been occupied by the Spanish governors. His first care was to reform his own manner of life; gaming and women were renounced for ever, and since this time he has exhibited the greatest austerity in his habits. The morning was passed in transacting business. The superior officers, the military commandants, and the Alcaldes were summoned to receive orders; private persons, who had any petition to present or complaints to prefer, were admitted to an audience, and the workmen, who were employed by government, attended to receive their instructions from the Dictator himself. His daily walk was on the parade. In the evening he employed his hours of leisure in reading, especially

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such French authors as could be obtained in the country, having learned French a short time before the revolution. The belles-lettres, history, geography, and mathematics were by turns the object of his studies. The knowledge of medicine being very limited in Paraguay, he read Tissot and Buchan, and practised upon himself according to their prescriptions. He used to take particular interest in the perusal of an old treatise on the arts and professions; and drew from this source the information of which he has subsequently made so extraordinary an application. But to acquire a knowledge of the art of war was his favorite object; for he felt conscious that the political existence of the country, and even his own, depended on his manner of organizing the armed force. In order to provide himself with the necessary materials, he established a monopoly of timber, an article in great demand at Buenos Aires, only permitting it to be exported by those who furnished him with arms and warlike stores. At a later period this system was made to comprehend every branch of commerce; and by means of licenses he procured everything he stood in need of, while at the same time he secured, by granting them, the attachment of the public officers and merchants, who wished for a share in these advantages.

'In the army, he began by removing, under various pretexts, such of the officers as gave him umbrage or seemed to have too much influence with the soldiery. These were for the most part ignorant of the duties of their profession, and had been the authors of various disturbances; but the real motive for their dismission was, that they belonged to good families. The Dictator was by no means inclined to employ men who might consider themselves citizens as well as soldiers. The new officers were not in general men of greater ability, but such as could only by his aid expect to rise from the low condition in which he found them. He dismissed in like manner all the soldiers of whose opinions he had any doubt, and replaced them by fresh recruits. Having taken these measures, he proceeded to organize various corps, exercised them every day, and subjected them to a severe discipline. This discipline, however, was observed only while the soldiers were under arms, or in their quarters; at all other times they were under no control. The Dictator was sole judge over the military; but knowing how necessary they were to him, he treated them with great consideration. A body of grenadiers composed his guard, and at the same time performed the duty of *gens-d'armes*. By their means he communicated his orders to the environs, summoned the persons whom he had to speak with, and caused his arrests to be put in execution. In this way they came to be the terror of the place; particularly when for the sake of gratifying the Dictator they acted as his spies. As the

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sergeant of the guard was the person who introduced those, who wanted an audience, it was necessary to be in his good graces in order to be announced. These grenadiers were not well acquainted with the Spanish language, and were therefore incapable of delivering with precision the orders of which they were bearers, or the answers given to them by individuals; hence misunderstandings arose, which were considered as acts of disobedience, and punished accordingly.

'In the civil administration, the Dictator made at first no material change. He contented himself with removing all men of independent spirit, and put creatures of his own in their places. He took upon himself exclusively the nomination of the cabildos and alcaldes, who, being originally the defenders of the rights of the people, were now converted into the servile instruments of despotism. He increased the number of circles or *comandancias*, which form the territorial division of Paraguay, and gave the administration of them to men who were devoted to his interests. He even changed the *zeladores*, a sort of subaltern police officers, whose care it was to watch over the public tranquillity. The religious orders also attracted his attention; here at least he effected a salutary reform by abolishing the Inquisition, of which there was a commission in the capital. The bishop having been affected by this event to such a degree as to lose his reason, the Dictator forced him to resign his powers to the Vicar-General *(Provisor)*, who then assumed the government of the diocess under the direction of Francia. Processions and the performance of divine service by night were prohibited, as tending to produce suspicious meetings.

'All these changes were not effected at once. The Dictator allowed his measures to keep pace with the growth of his power, and in the beginning had even a certain regard to appearances. His orders were less absolute, and he seemed anxious to justify them in the eyes of the public. In private he was more affable, and received visits of politeness from the civil functionaries, officers, and other persons of distinction. He did not then think it a disparagement to his dignity to offer them seats, nor did he oblige them to remain standing all the time that he was speaking to them, as was afterwards the case.

'In the mean time the three years of his dictatorship were on the point of expiring, and a new Congress was to assemble in 1817; but Francia took care that it should be composed of creatures of his own, employing for this purpose the commandants of the circles, and caused himself to be created Perpetual Dictator. Being once installed in this office, he acted without disguise, and soon undeceived his fellow citizens in regard to the nature of the power with which they had entrusted him. Some caricatures,

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ridiculing his person, were pasted up at the corners of the streets. Those who had made them attributed them to the Spaniards, but Francia was not to be deceived, and ordered the real authors to be arrested and put in irons without any form of trial. As this measure only affected individuals who were not liked, and who had the name of being turbulent, their condemnation produced but little sensation in the public mind, and the less as since the time of the Spaniards, people were accustomed to see the government act as judge in its own cause. About this time an ancient colonel of Buenos Aires, named Valta Vargas, a native of Paraguay, was also put under arrest on suspicion of conspiring against the Dictator. This imprisonment was followed by several others, which however afforded no light upon the subject, although the incident served to increase in some degree his severity and distrust. From that time forward, when he went out on horseback, he used to be escorted by hussars; two before and one behind. It was their duty, in the first instance, to make the passengers keep to the sides of the streets as the Dictator passed. Afterwards they were directed to drive off roughly all who stood in the way. The sabre blows that were distributed on these occasions soon cured people of their curiosity, and thence forward the progress of the Dictator through the city was like traversing a desert.'

In the above account of the successive steps by which Dr Francia attained his present elevation, or as Shakspeare expresses it,

'The base degrees by which he did ascend,'

our readers will have noticed the analogy which we have already pointed out between his political course and that of Napoleon. The measures employed by both are no doubt such as are naturally suggested by the circumstances in which they stood, and might with some variations be repeated on different occasions, without any actual imitation. But in this instance the resemblance of names and incidents is too minute to be other than intentional. The transition from a democratic to a consular, and afterwards to a dictatorial or imperial government; the means used for gaining the assent of the legislative bodies; the contemptuous treatment of the inferior consul; all these circumstances, with others, which we need not recapitulate, prove that the Doctor had his eye upon a model of more recent date than the one described by Rollin. The same conclusion may also be drawn from the remarks which he made on the character of

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Napoleon, at his first interview with our authors, which is described in the following extract. It would seem, that the Dictator had been somewhat less successful in copying the costume of his famous prototype than his conduct. We are told by our authors, that he had mistaken a German caricature of Napoleon, which had accidently fallen into his possession, for a correct likeness, and had been led in consequence to provide himself, as a part of his official dress, with one of those immense cocked hats, which the caricaturists, probably from a spirit of contradiction, have generally substituted for the uncommonly small and low three-cornered beaver, habitually worn by the 'man of destiny.'

'In September, 1818, we arrived at Corrientes, where we were forced to make a stay of eight months, nor did we succeed in obtaining from the authorities of that place permission to embark for Paraguay till May, 1819, when communications were finally re-established. It is from this period, that the events of which we have been eye-witnesses take their date; those which have been previously related are only the result of such information as during my residence in the country, I was able to obtain from the best authorities. On the thirtieth of July we landed at Assumption, and a few days afterwards were presented to the Dictator. He is a man of middling size, regular features, and the fine black eyes peculiar to the natives of South America, with a penetrating look expressive of distrust. On that day he had on his official dress, which was the uniform of a Spanish brigadier, that is, a blue gold-laced coat, white waistcoast and breeches, white silk stockings, and shoes with gold buckles. So splendid an equipment could not fail to excite our surprise, after having just seen the half naked condition of Artigas and his lieutenants. Dr Francia was then about sixty years of age, although he did not appear to be above fifty. He asked me several questions, with an air of superiority, and apparently with the intention of embarrassing me, but he soon after assumed a different tone. On my opening a portfolio to look for the papers I had to present to him, he perceived a portrait of Bonaparte, which I had placed there on purpose, knowing his admiration for the original. He took it up, and, on being told whom it represented, examined it with great interest. He then entered familiarly into conversation on the subject of the political affairs of Europe, with which I found him much better acquainted than I could have expected. He asked for news about Spain, and expressed the highest contempt for that country. The constitution of Louis the Eighteenth was not to his taste, and he gave a decided preference to the military government of Napoleon, of whose fall he spoke with regret. I

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remarked, that in conversing upon his reign, he dwelt with pleasure on such circumstances as seemed to have any analogy with his own situation. He reproached us, as Swiss, with our wretched campaign of 1815, and applied to us the fable, in which the dying lion receives a kick from a certain long-eared animal. But the principal topic of his conversation was the friars, whom he accused of pride, depravity of manners, and a disposition to intrigue. He declaimed violently against the tendency visible in the clergy in general to resist the authority of government. In order to give us a more perfect idea of his principles in this respect, he declared that if the Holy Father himself were to come to Paraguay, he should be nothing more than his chaplain. He appeared to anticipate the return of fanaticism and superstition in Europe, and insisted on the necessity of crushing the monastic spirit in time before America became infected with this new contagion. The reëstablishment of the Jesuits in Europe, which we announced as being realized in part, seemed to him incredible; so great was, in his opinion, the folly of this measure. When we mentioned the emancipation of America, he at once discovered the ardor of his devotion to the cause, and declared his fixed resolution to defend it against all enemies. The ideas which he expressed in regard to the mode of governing these new nations, in their present imperfect state of civilization, appeared to me very correct; but unfortunately he has made no application of any of them in his own country. He condescended to show us his library, which, though small, is the only one in Paraguay. We there saw, by the side of the best Spanish authors, the works of Voltaire, Rousseau, Raynal, Rollin, Laplace, &c. which he had procured since the revolution. He had also some mathematical instruments and geographical charts, and among these the most correct map of Paraguay to be found in the country. It was made by Don Felix de Azara, at the time of the demarkation of the boundaries, which took place during the last twenty years of the preceding century, and presented by the author to the Cabildo of Assumption. It has never been published. As the Dictator was sometimes seen studying the celestial globe, and by means of his map displayed a perfect knowledge of the country without ever having travelled over it, the inhabitants were persuaded, that he conversed with the stars. He has, however, never availed himself of this circumstance to impose upon their credulity; but on the contrary exerts himself in removing the prejudices, which his countrymen have imbibed. He dismissed us with the following words—"Do what you please, profess what religion you choose; no one shall molest you; only take care not to meddle with the affairs of my government." This advice we did not fail to follow, and on his part the Dictator

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faithfully kept his word. On taking my leave, I left the portrait of Bonaparte on the table, thinking that it would be acceptable to him. He, however, sent it back to me with an officer, who was directed to ask me what I would take for it. As I did not like to set a price on an article in itself of little value, and as the Dictator made it a rule never to accept presents, the portrait remained in my possession. I was the more surprised at this from the circumstance of his having shown me in his cabinet a caricature, published at Nuremberg, which represented his hero, and which he in good earnest considered as a portrait, till I explained to him a German inscription, that was at the foot of this wretched print, on which he seemed to set so great a value. It was doubtless this caricature that suggested to him the idea of assuming as a part of his dress the enormous *chapeau-bras*, in which Bonaparte was there represented.'

The following extract, which forms the last chapter of the work, describes the personal habits of Francia, and seems to come in naturally in connexion with the above passage.

'In order to finish the portrait of the personage, who is the chief subject of the present essay, I now proceed to give some details of his domestic life; and shall add some facts for which a place could not be found before, and which seem well calculated to explain the character of this extraordinary man.

'It has been already mentioned that Dr Francia, as soon as he had the sole direction of the public affairs, took up his lodgings in the residence of the former governors. This building is one of the largest in Assumption; it was constructed by the Jesuits a little before their suppression, and was used by them as a house for retreat, in which the lay brothers performed certain religious exercises prescribed by St Ignatius. The Dictator had it repaired, and gave to the exterior of it an air of elegance not usual in the country, and opening wide streets all round, made it stand apart from the other houses. His establishment consists of four slaves, namely, a negro boy, a mulatto man, and two mulatto women. One of the latter superintends the kitchen, and the other has charge of the wardrobe. In his habits he is extremely regular. The first rays of the sun hardly ever find him in bed. As soon as he rises, the negro brings a chafing dish, a tea-kettle, and a pitcher of water, which is heated in his presence. The Dictator then prepares, with his own hands and with all possible care, his *maté* or Paraguay tea. Having taken this, he walks awhile in an inner gallery which looks out upon the court, and smokes a cigar, taking care first to unrol it lest it should contain anything poisonous, although his cigars are made by his own sister. At six o'clock comes the barber, a dirty, ill dressed, drunken mulatto,

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who, however, is the only one of the faculty, in whose hands the Dictator will trust himself. If in good humor, he will condescend to chat with this person, and often prepares the public through his means for the projects he has in contemplation; thus making him his official gazette. After this, having put on a calico morning-gown, he takes a turn in the outer gallery, which goes all round the house, and receives such individuals as have been admitted to an audience. At seven o'clock he retires to his cabinet, and remains there till nine. The military and civil officers then make their appearance, to give in their reports and receive orders. At eleven the *fiel de fecho* brings in the papers that are to be presented to him, and writes *à la dictée* till twelve. At this hour the secretaries retire, and Francia sits down to table. His dinner is frugal, and is prepared according to his own directions. On her return from market, the cook lays out the articles purchased before the door of her master's cabinet, who, on coming out, sets apart the things he intends for his own use. After dinner he takes his *siesta*, and then his *maté* and cigar, as in the morning. He then attends to business till four or five, when the escort arrives to accompany him on his ride. The hair-dresser now attends him while the horse is saddling. This being done, the Dictator goes out to visit the public works or the barracks, especially those of the cavalry, in which he has apartments for his reception. In these excursions, although attended by an escort, he goes armed not only with a sabre, but with a pair of double-barreled pocket pistols. On his return home about nightfall he applies himself to his studies. At nine he takes his supper, which consists of a roast pidgeon and a glass of wine. If the weather be fine, he then takes another walk in the gallery, which he sometimes does not quit till very late. At ten he gives the order for the ensuing day; and, upon retiring to rest, locks with his own hands all the doors of the house. During several months in the year he resides at the barracks of the cavalry, which are situated out of the town, about a quarter of a league from his ordinary residence; and here his manner of life is the same, except that from time to time he goes out to hunt. In all the rooms which he occupies, there are arms within reach; pistols are suspended from the walls, or placed by his side at table; and sabres, generally unsheathed, are to be found in every corner. Precautions of the same kind are observed in the etiquette prescribed for giving audience. The person admitted is not to approach the Dictator nearer than six paces, until invited by him, and even then not nearer than three. He must let his arms hang down in a line with his body, and the hands in the same position, and open, that it may be seen that they conceal no weapon. Neither civil nor military officers must presume to appear before him with swords by their sides. Never-

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theless he likes that people should look at him while speaking to him, and that their answers should be prompt and decisive. One day he desired me to ascertain, by examination, whether the natives of Paraguay had not a bone too much in their necks, which prevented them from lifting up their heads and speaking out.

'At the beginning of a conversation he always tries to intimidate, but when his first onset is sustained with firmness, he becomes more mild, and ends by conversing agreeably if in good humor. It is then that the man of superior talents may be recognised; for in the course of his conversation, which turns upon a great variety of objects, he discovers a depth of understanding, a degree of penetration, and an extent of information beyond what could be expected in one, who, it may almost be said, has never been out of Paraguay. Free from the numberless prejudices entertained by his countrymen, he often makes them the subject of his pleasantry. Thus, at an interview which I had with him, he laughed a good deal at the expense of the commandant and curate of Curuguaty, who had sent him a poor woman in chains and loaded with an enormous rosary, transmitting with her a report of her trial, from which it appeared that she was a sorceress. From this he went on to describe the various magical arts practised by the people in cases of sickness, and the cures which they attributed to them, and finished by saying, "You may judge by this of the use of priests and religion among these people; they serve to make them believe in the devil, rather than in God."

'The conscience of men is a sanctuary which history itself cannot but respect; but this rule ought not to be extended to public acts, by which the supreme head of a government discloses his religious opinions. I therefore presume there will be no impropriety in mentioning, that, though in the early periods of his elevation he used regularly to hear mass on Sundays in one of the chapels of the barracks, and attended service at the cathedral on great holy-days, he soon after ceased to appear at all at church, and in 1820 dismissed his chaplain. From that time he has been a stranger to every kind of worship, and has never ceased exclaiming against the established religion. One of the commandants having asked him, on some occasion, for the image of a saint, in order to place it as a patron in a fort that had been just built. "How long," said he, "men of Paraguay, will you continue to be idiots? while I was a catholic, I thought as you do; but I have since discovered that cannon balls are the best saints to guard our frontiers." In our first audience, on being informed of our religion, "Profess whatever you please," said he, "be Christians, Jews, or Mahometans, but not atheists."

'Whenever the Dictator is seized with a fit of spleen, he either shuts himself up for several days without attending to business, or

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else vents his ill humor upon everything round him. The *employés*, the officers, soldiers, all are equally exposed to ill treatment. He then launches out into invectives and threats against his enemies, real or supposed. It is on these occasions especially that he orders arrests and inflicts the severest punishments, and even thinks it a mere trifle to pronounce a sentence of death.

'The state of the weather seems to have a considerable influence upon his temper; at least it has been remarked, that when the northeast wind prevails, these fits are much more frequent. This wind, which is attended with humidity and a suffocating heat, produces frequent and sudden showers, and makes a very unfavorable impression on people of irritable nerves, or who suffer from obstruction in the liver or the lower intestines. When, however, the west wind blows, which is dry and fresh, the Dictator is generally in a pleasant state of mind. He then sings and laughs by himself, and converses agreeably with all those who approach him.

'Whatever may be said of the unevenness of his temper, there is at least one laudable quality in which he is constant, I mean his disinterestedness. No less liberal in his personal expenses than sparing of the public money, he pays in cash for everything he stands in need of. His private fortune has derived no improvement from his elevation. He never received a present, and is always in arrears for the receipt of his appointments; in this respect even his greatest enemies do him justice. On several occasions, he has proved himself no stranger to a sense of gratitude. Having one day been informed that a young man of a family of Cordova, in whose house he had been admitted in his youth, happened to be at Assumption in the greatest distress, he ordered him to be sent for, and after giving him some hundred francs, made him his secretary. He also sometimes remembers his schoolmates, and never fails to afford them his assistance when they want it. But he loses the recollection of every service, and acknowledges neither relations nor dependants, from the moment he sees anything like resistance to his authority, or a want of respect towards his person. To omit giving him the title of *Excelentisimo Señor*, is an unpardonable sin, although he himself *thous* all but foreigners; a habit which he has acquired by degrees and in proportion as his power has been confirmed. "You are to pay to me as much respect as you would to your king, and even more," said he to a foreigner, the subject of a monarch; "for I can do you more good and more harm than he can." Several of his favorites have fallen into disgrace for attempting to put themselevs on too familiar a footing with him. Others have been put in irons for arrogating to themselves a power which had not been conferred. Two of his nephews, who had been officers in

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the troops of the line, from the beginning of the revolution, were the first whom he dismissed from the service shortly after having got himself made dictator; and this merely because he apprehended that they might avail themselves to his prejudice of the circumstances of their position. Hence it was, that any fault committed by them was punished with much more severity than those of the other officers; one of them was put in irons, and kept in that state for the space of four years, for having struck some person who had insulted him at a ball; another was confined in a public prison during a whole year for having made use of one of the musicians of a regiment in giving a serenade. In fine, his sister, the only person towards whom he ever showed any lasting attachment, and who had the care of his countryhouse, was sent home to her family for having employed a *zelador* to punish one of the slaves.

'It is easy to conceive that, being so extremely jealous of his authority, the Dictator could never have a confidant; in fact, he never took the advice of any one in anything he ever did, nor can any one boast of having exercised the slightest influence over him. If then he sooner or later meet with the fate reserved for almost all oppressors of their country, he will have no one to blame but himself.'

Our authors enter at considerable length into an account of the administration of the Dictator in its several departments, but we have not room to follow them here in detail, and must refer our readers for information on these points to the work itself. The authority of Francia is sustained by a little regular army of about five thousand men, mostly cavalry, well armed, equipped, and disciplined, and stationed at the capital. As the whole population of the country is supposed to be something short of two hundred thousand souls, dispersed over a territory not less extensive than the kingdom of France, this power is amply sufficient to effect its object and to keep up a continual reign of terror. The regular troops are composed exclusively of Creole whites, who constitute about seven tenths of the population, the other three tenths being made up of Indians, blacks, and mulattoes, together with about eight hundred Spaniards. There is beside the regular army an establishment of militia, in which every individual of whatever race is enrolled upon reaching the age of seventeen, and which consists, in the whole, of twenty thousand persons. It is occasionally employed in aid of the troops, but it is on these that the Dictator places his dependence for the security of his power. To make assurance doubly sure, he has resorted to various other measures

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of precaution, among which are the secularization of all ecclesiastical property, and the assumption by himself of the functions of head of the church. In this respect, he has gone one step beyond his imperial prototype, and copied the policy of Henry the Eighth of England. The bishop of the disocess, as we have already remarked, was driven to madness by these proceedings, in his opinion, no doubt, the consummation of sacrilege and tyranny, but which our authors are disposed to view with some degree of favor. For the same purpose, he interdicted all communications with foreigners, not only personal but epistolary, and for the better attainment of this object entirely suppressed the postoffice. The measures adopted for the immediate safety of his own person are not less rigid; and when he happens to be seized with one of his habitual fits of ill humor, he is apt to carry them upon the slightest provocation to some new and extraordinary excess. On one occasion, a poor woman was sent to prison for approaching the window of his palace, and her husband, though not with her at the time, was obliged to share her fate. Not satisfied with taking this severe notice of so enormous an offence, the Dictator immediately ordered the sentinel on duty at the door to shoot every person whom he should see looking at the house. It seems that the learned Doctor concentrates in his own person the functions of commissary and quartermaster general and particular, as well as those of pope and dictator, and delivers out himself to the soldiers on guard the ammunition that is wanted. On the occasion alluded to, the Dictator, exasperated almost to madness by this failure of respect for his person (as he was pleased to consider it), the wind probably blowing fresh from the northeast, brought out a second musket charged with ball to the sentinel at the door, and addressed him as follows; 'If you see any body fix his eyes on this house, fire upon him. If you miss the first time, fire again,' (handing him the second musket.) 'If you miss a second time, I shall take care not to miss you.' It is rather singular, that after issuing this order, he should have been so much at a loss to account for the down look of his loving subjects, as to inquire of our authors into the anatomical conformation of their necks. The fact was pretty soon known through the capital, and the citizens took good care either not to pass the giant's castle or to look the other way. But about a fortnight after, a poor native, fresh from the country, took the liberty, in the indulgence of a not unnatural

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curiosity, to turn his eyes in the prohibited direction, and was actually fired upon by the soldier on guard. The Dictator, upon hearing the report, came out to inquire what was the matter, and on learning the offence of the Indian, revoked the order, pretending to forget that he had ever issued it.

Notwithstanding these rigorous precautions, the Dictator has not succeeded in stifling completely the opinions of his countrymen. He has been annoyed, on the contrary, by a succession of conspiracies, formed by the most respectable and wealthy citizens; the discovery of which has led in turn to still more violent measures of prevention and punishment. It is in fact the great vice of all usurped authority, that it can only be maintained by the continual repetition of acts still more odious and sanguinary than those by which it must necessarily be acquired. The common feelings of human nature cannot be wholly overcome. They must and will break out in frequent attempts to throw off the unnatural pressure imposed upon them, while the usurper, if he succeed in defeating these, is compelled in self-defence to visit their authors with exemplary punishment. It is somewhat consoling to reflect, that even in this remote corner of christendom, inhabited by a mixed and scanty population, there has been found spirit enough to keep the tyrant in a state of continual alarm for his personal safety, and probably in the end to effect his overthrow, especially if the neighboring republic of Buenos Aires shall ever acquire stability and consistency enough to be able to aid her sister province in this good work.

Immediately after Francia declared himself dictator for life, a conspiracy against him was entered into by most of the leading citizens, in concert with an agent of Puerrydon, then supreme dictator at Buenos Aires, who came to Assumption for this purpose. The plot was maturing in secret for two years, and was to have been put in execution on Good Friday of 1820; but during the preceding Lent, one of the conspirators unluckily discovered it in confession to a friar, who ordered him to reveal it immediately to the Dictator, which he did. A number of the principal inhabitants, including the *quondam* Pompey of our new Cæsar, Don Fulgencio Yegros, were in consequence arrested and detained in close confinement. Meanwhile Ramirez, one of the independent chiefs of the neighboring country, who, after acting some time under the command of Artigas, had finally turned upon the latter, and succeeded in getting possession of the province of Entre Rios,

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previously under his government, attempted to open friendly relations with Francia, and for this purpose sent envoys to Assumption. The Dictator exhibited on this occasion much the same respect for the law of nations, which was shown by the Dey of Algiers in the case of the French consul, reported in very good verse by the late Premier of Great Britain, in the 'Antijacobin,' and threw the envoys into prison. Ramirez, upon this, began to place himself in a hostile attitude and entered into a secret correspondence with the discontented citizens of Paraguay, which was also unfortunately detected. Alarmed at this new enterprise, the Dictator now brought his prisoners to trial, and as they were successively convicted, parties of eight or ten of them were executed every three or four weeks for two years in succession. Their wives and relations generally shared their fate. Finally all the Spaniards in the country, to the amount of eight hundred, were sent to prison *en masse*, where a part of them died of the effects of ill treatment, and the rest were only released upon the payment of such contributions as reduced them to ruin. The victims of these inhuman proceedings generally exhibited a manly firmness, highly honorable to the national character, and our authors mention a number of interesting anecdotes of the conduct of the sufferers, which we would gladly extract did our limits allow it.

The ultimate result of these continual prosecutions was, however, to break, for the time, the spirits of the people, and to plunge the whole community into a sort of gloomy despondency. These people, say our authors, naturally not very communicative, now lived entirely apart from each other. There were no more social meetings or entertainments. Even the women lost their privilege of talking, and the guitar, before the inseparable companion of the Paraguays, became silent. There ensued a sort of blank desolation and stupor, which ended in making every one insensible to any misery but his own. If a man fell under the Dictator's displeasure he was, as it were, struck with a curse. Nobody could visit him without exciting suspicion. Every one who sought to communicate with a state prisoner was immediately arrested. This happened to several wives, who had said a few words through a grate to their husbands. While terror thus reigned in the capital, the other cities and the country were not better off. Under pretext of taking precautions against rebellion, the civil and military authorities committed the most arbitrary acts, and

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thus avenged themselves on the people for the base submission they were obliged to show to the Dictator. Fines, imprisonments, and executions succeeded each other without intermission, and the subalterns pursued their course with perfect freedom, for they knew that the Dictator was inaccessible to remorse or pity.

Among the measures of Francia, which our authors are disposed to regard with some degree of favor, are his attempts to improve the internal condition of the country and to encourage agriculture and manufactures. But however laudable the object, the means employed by the Dictator for effecting it are, we fear, such as would ill suit the taste of our public; and with all our zeal in the cause of improvement we should certainly object to their use in this country. Terror seems to be the only instrument resorted to by the ruler of Paraguay in this, as in every other part of his administration. Wishing to encourage the manufacture of leather belts, he directed, as a preliminary step, that a gallows should be raised before the door of his principal shoemaker. This being done, he sent him the order for the article wanted, with a proviso that if it were not executed to his mind, the workman should be forthwith hanged. On another occasion he sent a blacksmith to the galleys for finishing, as he thought, in a slovenly way, one of the screws belonging to a gun carriage. But the most extensive and remarkable operation of this description was the attempt of the Dictator to improve the appearance of his capital. It was the boast of Augustus, that he found Rome of brick and should leave it of marble. Our new Cæsar having succeeded so well in copying the example of the first of the name, was probably encouraged to imitate the second. It seems to have been his first object, in carrying this plan into effect, to convert the city into a heap of ruins, and thus far he has to all appearances admirably succeeded. Whether he will be equally fortunate in the second and not less important part of the undertaking, that of building it up again in a better form, is still uncertain. The following extract, which contains an account of these proceedings, may also interest the reader, by the description it gives of a place, but little known abroad.

'A calamity of a different kind now befell the capital, for which it was indebted to the Dictator. It will be recollected, that at the time of discovering the conspiracy of 1820, he entertained the idea of rendering the city more regular, which however was

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not then realized, as he had fixed on no particular plan for the purpose. Assumption is built on a declivity, in some parts rather rapid, and bordering on the river Paraguay. The streets are crooked, irregular, and for the most part so narrow, that they might more properly be called lanes. The houses being of one story only, and generally separated from each other by the interposition of trees, shrubs, little gardens, and grass plots, present the appearance of a village rather than a city. Springs of water, gushing out on all sides, form rivulets, and make the ground marshy, while the rain-water, in its descent down the declivity, has cut furrows in the greater part of the streets. Such was the town which the Dictator undertook to divide into quarters or wards, without paying the least regard to the damage that must accrue to the inhabitants. The place certainly stood in need of a better distribution and the streets required to be made larger and to be kept cleaner, but the disposition of the houses and the vegetation that surrounded them were, as regards salubrity as well as convenience, well suited to a tropical climate and a sandy soil. In 1821 he commenced laying out streets in the part of the town which was least populous, making them run from N. W. to S. E. with others crossing them from N. E. to S. W., all from thirty-five to forty feet wide. These new streets served as a rule to go by in the opening of other parallel ones through the whole city. There was a space of about a hundred paces between each of them, although when a public building happened to lie in the way this space was reduced or augmented, as the case required. The same privilege, however, was not extended to private houses. When a new street was to be opened, the Dictator would point out to his master mason, who was also his engineer, the direction in which he was to drive the stakes, and sometimes superintended this operation personally when he took his afternoon's walk. After this he used to send to the proprietors of the houses which stood upon the line the order for pulling them down; yet this was only a preliminary measure, serving to facilitate the execution of his plan, for the ultimate direction of the street, in passing from one side to the other of the demolished houses, rendered further devastation unavoidable. In this way did ignorance and arbitrary power unite to desolate the capital; and many buildings which would finally have been found to stand not more than twenty-five or thirty feet within the line drawn, were devoted to destruction. The rubbish of these ruins was employed in levelling the streets and filling up the furrows and other sinuosities of the soil, and where the declivity was too great, it was corrected by means of steps. Three new squares were made, and an old one was enlarged, and, finally, to render the streets dry, the Dictator obliged the proprietors of grounds where springs of water existed to stop them up.

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'These supposed improvements went on but slowly; for it often happened, that a fall of rain would destroy in one night the labor of a fortnight, and it repeatedly became necessary to begin the whole work over again. The streets were not paved, and the water which poured upon them in torrents in the rainy season would wash away the materials used for levelling them and open fresh ravines in an incredibly short space of time. In consequence of these proceedings many houses now no longer stood upon a level with the street, the foundations of a great number had been sapped by the rain, and some of them tumbled to the ground from the water having penetrated beneath them and removed the light soil on which they stood. Others were undermined by the springs, which had been filled up, and which naturally sought a new outlet. In a word, so great was the destruction, that at the end of four years, the capital of Paraguay had all the appearance of a town which had suffered a bombardment of several months. Nearly half the buildings had disappeared, the streets were bordered with hedges of dry stakes, and of the houses that remained scarcely any presented an entire front. As it appeared to the Dictator that further changes might be necessary, the erecting of new houses was only permitted in the more remote parts of the town. In the mean time it was his intention, after paving the principal streets, to oblige the rich inhabitants of the country to construct other houses in such spots as he should determine, in order to rebuild the town; and he actually laid the foundations of several with the idea of their being afterwards sold to them. He used to say that the place in future should be inhabited by Paraguays and not by the Spaniards, who till then had been in possession of the best houses. There was nothing to check his progress—he had only to command; so that it may be presumed he will experience no more difficulty in rebuilding the new town than he had in destroying the old one. He caused several hundred houses to be pulled down, without making any kind of indemnification to the owners, or giving himself the least trouble about what became of them or their families. Each individual was obliged to demolish his own dwelling. If he pleaded a want of the necessary means, the convicts were directed to do it for him, and were allowed to carry away with them whatever they pleased.

'Although no expense whatever was incurred in reïmbursing the proprietors, yet it will naturally be presumed, that this undertaking cost the state considerable sums. The Dictator, however, only paid the master workmen, and for the execution of the work employed a few hundred convicts. The peasants furnished the materials, at their own expense, and when the work to be performed lay out of the capital, they were required to send laborers.

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It was in this way that all the forts on the frontiers were erected, as also various barracks and other buildings at Neembucu, Assumption, and Villa Real. In this way, too, several new roads were opened through the forests, and others which had been injured by the rains were repaired and enlarged; and, in fine, it was by this means that the Dictator was enabled to collect at the capital a large quantity of materials, to be employed in the erection of some forty houses, which were to be let for account of the state. The people of the country were every hour called away from the labors of the field by requisitions, either of their persons or their cattle; in addition to which the *leva* or impressment, an ancient Spanish custom, is frequently practised, and by means of it are assembled men, beasts, carts, utensils, and whatever else is to be found in the streets of a nature to be employed in any sort of work. At Assumption the officers, and even common soldiers, avail themselves of this practice for their own account; and although this is done without the knowledge of the Dictator, the effects resulting from it are not the less injurious, since the peasants are thereby prevented from coming into town to sell their productions.'

We believe, that we have now given to the Dictator of Paraguay nearly as much space as he has a right to claim, or as our readers will think him entitled to. Before we leave the subject it may be proper to mention the circumstances, under which our authors obtained permission to depart. They are detailed in the following extract, which also gives some additional particulars of the personal habits and conversation of Francia.

'At the beginning of the year, 1825, the Dictator received from Mr Parish, his Britannic Majesty's chargé d'affaires at Buenos Aires, the notification of a treaty of commerce, which had just been concluded between England and that republic, one of the most important results of which was to be the recognition of the republics of South America. On making this communication, Mr Parish requested, that the English merchants who might be at Paraguay, should be permitted to depart with their property. The news of this recognition had its effect. The Dictator ordered the English to put their ships in readiness, but allowed them to be manned by foreigners and negroes only. He also prohibited the exportation of any other articles but such as they had been able to procure with their own funds. Thus a vessel, which had been sold upon credit by a Spaniard to an Englishman, was confiscated and lost to the former, who was ignorant of this prohibition. They took their departure in the months of March and April. The Dictator, in order to justify the captivity of the British, wrote to Mr Parish, by the first vessel that sailed, saying that

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his Britannic Majesty's subjects had only shared the fate, which the force of circumstances had imposed upon all the inhabitants of Paraguay, and that as they had come of their own accord, and without being sent for, they could have no reason to complain.

'In allowing the English to depart, however, he was anxious to avoid the appearance of having yielded to necessity. He accordingly authorized Don José Tomas Ysaci, a Paraguay by birth, to go upon the same voyage with two brigs. This gentleman, who was one of the first merchants of Paraguay, had paid us every attention, and in addition to the various proofs he had given us of his friendship, he now offered to convey us to Buenos Aires, in case we could obtain our passports. This then was the moment for making such a request to the Dictator, especially as other foreigners were allowed to depart. On the twenty-seventh of March I called on him for this purpose; but he was engaged, and I retired. He, however, called me back almost immediately and desired to know what I wanted, but, without giving any answer to my petition, directed me to go and examine some forty recruits who had just been taken ill. Having made this visit, I returned to give an account of it. He then addressed several questions to me on the subject of my travels in the interior of Paraguay and my intention of publishing the result of my observations. The recognition of the new republics by England seemed to give him great satisfaction, and in speaking of it he observed, that the French had done wrong to allow themselves to be forestalled by the British. "The analogy," said he, "in the character of the two nations, the identity of religion, and the nature of the products of French industry seemed to demand the establishment of such relations, and the commerce of France would have been made to flow by their means through a new and most important channel. But this government, instead of signalizing itself by an act of liberality, which would have been quite in conformity with the interests of the nation, has preferred supporting a tottering throne by means of a ruinous expedition, the effect of which can only be to retard its downfall. With me it would not be a matter of surprise to see them attack our republics in the name of Ferdinand the Seventh, and this is one of my reasons for not allowing the departure of the French. As respects your case, I shall take it into consideration." Nearly two months elapsed before I obtained the reply of the Dictator to my request and before the ships of Mr Ysaci, which had been ready ever since the beginning of May, got permission to sail.

'Under these circumstances, I began to lose hopes of being able to profit by this opportunity for leaving Paraguay, and the more so as the Dictator had intimated to me his design of giving me forthwith the inspection of the troops that were to be brought

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into actual service, as also the direction of a new military hospital, which he was about to establish, in regard to the situation of which it would be necessary that I should be consulted. At length, on the morning of the twenty-fifth of May, the Dictator furnished the necessary papers for the departure of one of the brigs of Mr Ysaci, and gave an order for her sailing at one P. M. At eleven an officer brought me my passport and that of Mr Longchamp, with an order on the public treasury, in payment for the services I had rendered the state, as a physician, to which was added a license, not often granted, for exporting the cash. The short space of two hours was all the time we had for arranging our affairs and packing up our collections of natural history, which consisted in a great measure of very delicate objects; but there was no room for hesitation, nor any other alternative but to go at once or run the risk of not getting out of Paraguay till after the death of the Dictator. We, therefore, set about packing, in a hasty manner, a part of our collections and most necessary effects, leaving the rest under the care of persons of confidence, and went on board the vessel, which immediately weighed anchor. We departed at the appointed hour, followed by the good wishes of a multitude of spectators, who upon this occasion had assembled on the quay.

'A French navy officer, Captain Hervaud, who had come to Assumption in 1821, with the command of one of the ships of Mr Ysaci, embarked with us. This worthy man, who, by the effect of three shipwrecks, had lost a considerable fortune, believed himself doomed to remain prisoner for life at Paraguay, when Mr Ysaci, by representing the age, the misfortunes, and the prudent conduct of this officer, succeeded in obtaining from the Dictator the permission to place him on the list of the ship's crew. Another, though a less agreeable part of our company, were five friars whom the Dictator would not allow to be secularized, and who were now sent out of the country. Five more, who were taken out of the state prison, were disposed of in the same manner, and embarked on board a vessel belonging to Mr José de Maria, which was to sail the following day.

'Thus, after residing six years at Paraguay, four of them against our wills, we were suffered to leave the country. It is but doing justice to Dr Francia to declare, that in all this time he never threw any obstacles in the way of our pursuits, but that, on the contrary, he has more than once showed us marks of kindness. Happy should I be, were it in my power to say as much of his administration. As respects the inhabitants of Paraguay, Creoles as well as Spaniards, their general conduct towards us was such as to give us the greatest satisfaction, and we shall at all times entertain a grateful remembrance of the hospitable reception which they gave us.'

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The general result of the information conveyed by the entertaining little work before us, seems to be, that the fine province of Paraguay is now laboring under a most ruthless and sanguinary system of oppression; and that the spirits of the people are so completely crushed, that there is but little chance of their obtaining relief by their own unassisted exertions. It cannot be doubted, however, that the republic of Buenos Aires, to which Paraguay naturally belongs, will seize the first moment of recovered tranquillity to come to the assistance of her unfortunate neighbor. In the mean time we cannot but hope, that the sentiment of mingled horror and disgust with which these disclosures of the character and proceedings of Francia have been received throughout the civilized world, will have some effect in deterring such of the other revolutionary leaders of Spanish America as may have formed projects similar to those which he has executed, from carrying them into full effect. The friends of humanity and liberty will have reason to regret the separation of these colonies from the mother country, if they have only exchanged a foreign yoke, however oppressive, (and oppressive it was to an extent of which the public was hardly aware until the appearance of the late authentic work of Juan and Ulloa) for the bloody, and at the same burlesque despotism, of such characters as the Supreme and Perpetual Dictator of Paraguay.

Our authors allude, at the close of their Preface, to a succession of paragraphs respecting the political situation of Paraguay, which have appeared in the French newspapers from time to time during the last two years, and have, we believe, been in part reprinted in those of our own country. They furnish a curious instance of *mystification*; and we extract with the more readiness what is said upon the subject in the present work, as we are able to add some further particulars from our own knowledge.

'As the reader may be surprised not to find anything in this work corresponding with the accounts lately given of Paraguay in the newspapers, it seems necessary to give some explanations upon this subject. It was in the *Mémorial Bordelais* that these accounts were first published, and they subsequently appeared in the greater part of the continental journals.

'Dr Francia was represented at first as governing in the name of the queen dowager of Portugal. Afterwards it was insinuated, that the emperor Don Pedro had made overtures to the Dictator for the union of Paraguay with the Brazils, and that the latter in the

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mean time was negociating at Madrid, where he had commissioners. Some time after was brought forward one of his envoys named Le Fort, Marquis of Guarany, and Generalissimo of the army of Paraguay. Finally, Dr Francia was said to have abdicated in favor of this marquis, to have committed the reins of government during his absence to the Secretary Zapidas, and to have retired to Villa Real del Pilar. But all of a sudden, and without any one knowing how, he was seen to reäppear at the head of the government, proclaiming the independence of Paraguay, assembling and presiding over a congress of provinces, some of which belong to the Upper Peru, and others to the confederation of the river La Plata, and ultimately declaring war against the Brazils.

'The frequency of these communications, coming from a country that lay under an interdict, was well calculated to excite surprise, more especially as the merchants of Buenos Aires who were most interested in these changes, were entirely ignorant of them, as also the English editors. For myself I saw at once the apocryphal character of these reports (of which I have only mentioned a few); for independently of the numerous contradictions which they contain, they are in themselves evidently false. All the names mentioned in them are misapplied. There never was in Paraguay any person of the name of Le Fort or any Marquis of Guarany, no more than a Bernardo Zapidas, or a Galician called Abendano, who, for having been concerned in an insurrection, was to have been shot. As respects the brother and brother-in-law of the dictator, who were said to have accompanied him to Villa del Pilar, the first is in a state of insanity and the other is kept in irons. After this, let the reader determine what degree of credit he ought to give to the accounts of the twenty thousand regular troops, of the navy, the legions, the generalissimo, the commodore, the supreme tribunal of justice, the superior board of finance, the deputies of the departments and the rich exports, which have afforded so much matter to the paragraphs alluded to, since they are deficient in every circumstance, even in the general notions of geography, necessary to give them an air of truth. One of the facts stated, however, admits of no doubt. A self-styled envoy of Dr Francia, calling himself Le Fort, Marquis of Guarany, has in fact appeared at Madrid. May not this person have been the author of this long *mystification*, of which the newspapers were the involuntary instruments, and have resorted to it for want of other means to accredit his mission? At first he was, as I have been assured, very well received by the government; but the imposture being no doubt discovered, he found it necessary to break off the negotiations and quit Spain, as is stated in one of the abovementioned articles.

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'From the last letters which have reached me from Buenos Aires, I have reason to believe that Paraguay continues in the same state as when we left it. The communications with that country have even become more difficult, for the vessel that brought us over has not been able to obtain permission to return to it.'

The article alluded to in the above extract, which mentions the departure of the *soi-disant* Marquis de Guarany from Spain, is not more correct than the rest of the series, and we are able to state from our own knowledge, that the person in question is at this moment in prison at Madrid. It appears that he came from Rio Janeiro to Lisbon, and thence proceeded to Spain somewhere about the commencement of 1825. He gave himself out as an agent of Francia, and also of the (now dowager) queen of Portugal, sister of the king of Spain. At this time he is known to have had the command of considerable sums of money, and it does not seem to be ascertained from what quarter he obtained his supplies; but it is considered certain, that his pretence of a political commission from the abovementioned personages was entirely apocryphal. Upon arriving in Spain, he immediately attached himself to the Apostolic party, and engaged in the conspiracy fomented by the clergy in the autumn of 1825, which ended in the premature explosion of Bessières. He was found to be deeply committed by the discoveries made on this occasion, and was put under arrest. A few weeks after the suppression of the plot, as our readers will recollect, a revolution occurred in the Spanish cabinet in favor of the party which contrived it; and the Duke del Infantado was appointed secretary of state. The proceedings against the persons implicated in the conspiracy were immediately stopped, and among the rest our adventurer was set at liberty. He appears, however, to have contracted a sort of attachment for the place of his confinement, for he continued, by an arrangement with the jailor, to retain his lodgings in the prison, and resided there, though at liberty, for several months. During this period, the succession of paragraphs alluded to by our authors in the above extract were published in the French papers, having been undoubtedly written and sent on by him from Madrid. In one of these, he declared, as the latest news from Paraguay, that Francia had abdicated in his favor, and that he was, at the moment of writing, supreme and perpetual dictator of that country. The Spanish government, aware, no

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doubt, of the origin of this intelligence, now thought it time to interfere. The personage in question being still at his lodgings in the jail, they directed the keeper to turn the key upon him, and *un beau matin* he found himself again under arrest. He is now on trial for forging the signature of the Queen of Portugal, and may think himself fortunate if the affair end with nothing worse than confinement for life. It is understood that this adventurer has never even visited Paraguay. His real name is Fort, and not, as above described, Le Fort; but he also lays claim to two or three others. He pretends to be a descendant from Sebastian Cabot, and in order to give himself some appearance of connexion with individuals in Paraguay who are known abroad, he also assumes the name of Yegros, one of the principal Creole families, which has been repeatedly mentioned in this article. His style and title, as written out by himself at full length, are as follows, *Don J. A. Fort de Yegros y Cabot, Marques de Guarany.* This last name, as our readers are aware, is that of one of the principal tribes of Indians inhabiting the territory of Paraguay, but is not known there as the designation of any particular family.

ART. VII.—1. *A View of West Florida.* By JOHN LEE WILLIAMS. With a Map. Philadelphia. 1827.

2. *Letters of the* Hon. J. M. WHITE, Delegate of the Territory of Florida.

3. *Answers of* DAVID B. M'COMB, Esq., *with an accompanying Letter of* General LAFAYETTE. Tallahassee.

THE country which bears the beautiful name of *Florida*, has been the theme of numerous writers, and the scene of many adventures, since the discovery of America. The shores of the Gulf of Mexico, lying opposite the islands of Cuba and St Domingo, would naturally be the first points of discovery on the continent. Hence the discovery of the coast of Florida, and that of New Spain, were almost simultaneous, and in consequence, North America was at first designated by these two names alone. The name of Florida, however, was gradually confined to a narrower space, by the French settlements in Canada, and by the successive establishments of the British

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on the Atlantic coast. Spain, claiming the whole of the continent in virtue of the right of discovery and the pope's bull, viewed every settlement by other European powers as an encroachment; hence the numerous hostile occurrences between her and the colonies of France, Spain, and England, recounted by early writers. Spain was finally restricted to the comparatively insignificant portion, which continued to be known by the name of Florida, and which, after several changes of ownership, has at length become a part of the United States, and is now one of their territories.

The circumstance which has been stated, may account for the space which Florida has always occupied in the history of America, apparently so disproportioned to its intrinsic importance. Garcilaso de la Vega, who is supposed to have adopted in his compilation rather too many of the fictions of other writers, has given almost an entire volume to the transactions and events in Florida, from the first discovery by Ponce de Leon, in 1512, by whom it was named, until the death of Hernando de Soto, who landed at Tampa bay in 1539. Charlevoix, in his tedious folios, bestows a liberal portion of them on the affairs of this country, with copious accounts of its productions and climate, and of its natives. The Abbé Raynal, Adair, Burke, if he be the author of the 'History of the European Settlements,' have given it a place in their pages. The last relates the story of the enchanted fountain, supposed to possess the property of perpetuating and restoring youth to those who were so fortunate as to bathe in its waters; and sarcastically adds, that this precious liquid would be the most valuable article which the new world could export to the old. While this country was in the possession of the British, a period of fourteen years, several interesting accounts of it were published, describing its productions and general features, with considerable accuracy. The best known are those of Roberts and Romans; but the interior being occupied by numerous tribes of jealous and hostile Indians, it was impossible to obtain an accurate knowledge of it. Bartram, who ventured into the country while under the dominion of Spain, has written a very interesting work, but highly colored, and chiefly valuable for its botany. The survey of the coast under the direction of the British government, executed by Gault, is entitled to praise; his chart is still used, and is remarkable for its accuracy. Florida was considered by that government an important pos-

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session, not only on account of its position in the gulf, which, among other advantages, it was supposed, would enable its subjects to carry on a forced trade with New Spain, but also on account of its adaptation to many valuable productions of southern climates, its timber and naval stores, and the Indian trade. Some valuable information, relative to this country, is contained in the work of Major Stoddard, a gentleman of considerable literary merit, who lost his life during the late war, in consequence of the bursting of a shell at the siege of Fort Meigs.

We are prompted by no feeling of national vanity, when we assert, that more has been done towards obtaining an accurate knowledge of Florida during the few years that it has been in our possession, than during the whole period which elapsed from its first discovery. Previous to the late war with Great Britain, it was inhabited by a warlike race, the Seminoles, emigrant Creeks, or *wild* people, as the term in that language denotes, so called, from their having wandered away from the main body of the nation. The more ancient races had been overcome by the Creeks, particularly the Yamasees, who had been either destroyed, or reduced to slavery, some of their descendants existing in this state even within a few years. The Seminoles and Creeks, therefore, having a common origin and relationship, it was natural they should unite for mutual support and assistance against any European enemy. Although the nation resided within the limits of the United States, they were continually exposed to be acted upon by Spain or England, by means of those who resided in Florida. During the late war, this advantage was not neglected by Great Britain, but in conformity to that wretched policy, as ruinous to the Indians as derogatory to her own character, these people were excited to take up the tomahawk against our defenceless women and children. The first plan of operations, adopted by the British in 1813 and 1814, was to get a footing on the Appalachicola river, near the junction of the Flint and Chatahouchy, and draw around them the Seminoles and the Creeks; to possess themselves, through their means, of the country between this river and the Alabama, where another strong hold was to be made, with a deposit of arms, and a combined force collected, and finally to unite with the Choctas and Chickasas, and reach the bank of the Mississippi, five or six hundred miles above New Orleans. A moment's reflection will show the alarm-

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ing consequences of such a plan, if successfully accomplished. It was happily frustrated by the premature movements of the Creeks, and the rapid succession of signal victories obtained by General Jackson; by which the Indians were completely broken and subdued. When the British arrived, and constructed their temporary fort near the mouth of Flint river, it was too late, and the attempt to take possession of the Mobile bay, was successfully repulsed by the guns of Fort Bowyer. The reduction, we may almost say destruction, of the Creek nation was the primary cause which led to our subsequent acquisition of Florida. We could never be safe while this country was in the possession of a power either unwilling or too weak to prevent our enemy from occupying it, as a point whence to assail us, and to Spain it now became a useless, expensive, and perhaps dangerous possession. The hostile Creeks, who refused to treat with the officers of the United States, fled into Florida, and there, uniting with the Seminoles, still continued their hostility long after the treaty of peace with Great Britain. This led to General Jackson's campaign of 1818, when they were at last completely overcome, while an opportunity was afforded of traversing a country from which the Spaniards themselves had been excluded with jealous care by the Indians, and several fertile tracks were discovered, which at this day constitute the most valuable parts of the new territory.

After taking possession in 1821, one of the first measures of President Monroe, in relation to Florida, was the removal of the Indians from the valuable lands which they occupied. This task was successfully performed by Governor Duval, and two gentlemen, Colonel Gadsden and Mr Segui, who were associated with him. Their present number is supposed to exceed two thousand souls, scattered in little villages or hamlets. A tract of land has been assigned them near the centre of the peninsula, in the rear of Tampa bay, where a strong military force has been established; but it has been found necessary to supply these unfortunate people with provisions for several years, as they declare the country which they inhabit is too poor to raise corn. This, however, may well be doubted, as an attempt was made by Mr White, last summer, under the direction of the president, to induce them to remove beyond the Mississippi, which, however, they absolutely declined. The removal of the Seminoles, from a country peculiarly adapted to

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their mode of life, abounding in game and fish, and possessing a fruitful soil, is a circumstance which cannot be viewed by the philanthropist without pain. It can be justified on no other ground than that of the *vis major*, probably the same argument which justified the Seminoles a century before, in dispossessing and reducing to slavery the unfortunate people by whom it was then occupied. To the mind of the statesman, the measure was justified by its necessity; for without it, there was no possibility of uniting the eastern and western parts of the territory, under one government. The centre was occupied by the Seminoles, and of course all communication between the extremes was cut off. The memorial of the first legislative council of Florida, which is ascribed to the present delegate in Congress, and which shows an enlightened forecast of nearly all these prominent points of interest to the territory, and has since been so ably followed up in detail by its author, recommends the selection of a spot between the Appalachicola and the Suwany, for the seat of government, so soon as the Indians shall have been removed, and in the mean time, the construction of a national road from Pensacola to St Augustine. Both these objects have been successfully accomplished, and may be considered the groundwork of the present territorial organization; had it been otherwise, the probability is, that the western part would, before this, have been annexed to Alabama, and the eastern to Georgia.

Shortly after the acquisition of Florida, several publications made their appearance, but containing very meagre accounts. The book of Mr Forbes is a wretched compilation from old works, which represent the country as resembling the West Indies in its productions, such as cocoa, coffee, cassava; whereas this description is only applicable to the extreme southern part of the peninsula, or to the neighboring *Keys*. The little volume of Vignoles is something better, but his map, except as to a small portion of East Florida, is not to be depended on. It was not until the operations of the land office were nearly completed, that we could be said to possess anything like an accurate one. We believe, no country in the world contains such admirable delineations of its surface, as may be seen in the land office at Washington, of those portions of the new states and territories, which have been laid off in townships and sections. By these means every mile square is laid down with minute accuracy, and every six miles form a

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complete map, where the smallest streams are traced with the greatest precision. Such a work, however, is not effected without great expense; the surveys in Florida alone have probably cost not less than one hundred thousand dollars. Free access is allowed to these valuable documents deposited in the public offices; and Mr Tanner, well known as a skilful and enterprising geographer, by whom the map of Florida, appended to the work which stands first at the head of this article, has been engraved and published, has laudably used these advantages, in the numerous valuable works of this description, which he has given to the public within the last four years. We contemplate, with great satisfaction, the unceasing attention to this department of useful knowledge, which is in truth the foundation of all exact acquaintance with any country. The various new maps, and improvements on old ones, which have been executed in this country, within the last ten years, would form the subject of an interesting article.

From the Preface to Mr Williams's book, it appears to have been composed merely as a memoir to accompany a map of Middle and West Florida, the first which has appeared since the execution of the public surveys. The memoir, although modest in its pretensions, contains much valuable matter; but as it does not purport to be a complete geographical and statistical work, many subjects of interest are left untouched. It is, however, very full on all the topics necessary to the delineation of the natural features of the country, and the author appears to possess a respectable acquaintance with two important branches, mineralogy and botany. The work is evidently the production of a plain, candid man, who seems to be under no influence calculated to deceive himself, or to impose on others, for he has given many facts, and hazarded but few opinions. If the faults of mere composition may be passed over in any instance by a reviewer, it ought to be in favor of a work like the present, which in point of utility is before every previous publication on the same subject. Still, it is to be regretted, that some parts of it had not been previously subjected to the operation of a friendly file.

Mr Williams begins his memoir with a very brief, much too brief an account of the boundaries of Florida. For the last quarter of a century, this has been a fruitful subject of contention, and seems likely to be revived in a new and unexpect-

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ed manner, between the United States and the state of Georgia. The correspondence between our government and that of Spain, on the subject of the western boundary, occupies a large space in our diplomatic history, and although the matter was finally closed by the late treaty, yet the question was never expressly determined; so that some serious questions arising out of it, in relation to land titles, may at some future day be referred to the courts. A labored argument in favor of the right of the United States, is found under the title of 'The Florida Question stated, by H. M. Brackenridge,' in Mr Walsh's 'Register,' for 1816. The author is at present one of the judges of the territory, and the writer of the letter in the Appendix to Mr Williams's book. The northern boundary was settled by the treaty of 1795, at the thirty-first degree of north latitude, to the Chatahoutchy, thence down that river to its junction with the Flint, and thence in a straight line to the head of the St Mary's river. The western part of the line was actually run and marked by Mr Ellicot; but it was impracticable to complete the survey, in consequence of the hostility of the powerful tribes on the eastern part of the line. Mr Ellicot contented himself with seeking out the head of the St Mary's river, and there erecting a mound, which exists to this day, and drawing an imaginary line on the map, between this point and the junction of the Flint and Chatahoutchy. Within the last twelve months, the President and the Governor of Georgia respectively appointed commissioners to mark the boundary, which was supposed to be determined by these two points, the one fixed by the treaty itself, the other established by the commissioner of the United States, and acquiesced in by Spain. But it appears, that after the line was nearly half completed, the Georgia commissioner was recalled by Governor Troup, who had determined not to regard Ellicot's mound as indicating the head of the St Mary's, there being a more southern branch, which, from its size, ought to be considered as its source. The business was in consequence suspended, and has given rise to another message of the Governor to the legislature of Georgia. This subject is now before the Congress of the United States. In the mean time, the gauntlet thus thrown down by Governor Troup, has been manfully taken up in a quarter, where we did not expect to find a champion. The acting Governor of Florida, Mr M' Carty, in a temperate, well written, and judicious message to the legis-

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lative council of the territory, boldly resists the pretensions of Georgia, which extend to the most valuable part of Middle Florida.

We are informed by Mr Williams, that on taking possession of Florida for the United States, General Jackson divided the province into two parts, by the Suwany river, which was intended to conform as nearly as possible to the Spanish division of East and West Florida. The part which lies to the west of the Suwany, now composes the two districts called the Middle and Western, the capital of the territory, Tallahassee, being situated in the first, and Pensacola, our present naval depot, in the gulf, near the extreme western boundary of the latter. The two districts form a tract of country about two hundred and seventy-six miles long, from east to west, and from forty to ninety miles from north to south; containing sixteen thousand and five hundred square miles, and ten millions, five hundred and sixty thousand acres of land, which is about one third of the whole surface of the territory; and possessing a population of eight or nine thousand souls, rapidly increasing. Of the general appearance of the country Mr Williams gives the following description.

'The face of the country is, generally, rolling, but there are neither mountains nor hills of any considerable magnitude. It is intersected from north to south by numerous rivers, many of which are navigable quite through the territory. A large portion of the country is covered with forests, the trees usually at a considerable distance apart, without underbrush; while the surface of the ground presents a carpet of verdant grass and flowers most of the year. The borders of the water-courses, however, as well as the hammocks, are covered with thick woods of hard timber, tangled with innumerable vines. An abundance of lakes and ponds diversify the interior; while the seacoast is indented with bays, bayous, and lagoons, abounding with fish of all kinds, and affording every facility for internal as well as foreign commerce. Although the largest portion of the country is covered with pine barrens, and much of it extremely poor, yet there is also much upland, interval, and hammock land, of the most excellent quality; peculiarly well calculated to produce sugar, rice, cotton, tobacco, indigo, corn, small grains, vines, and fruits; and all the timbers necessary for ship-building are found here in abundance. The pine barrens afford excellent grazing for cattle, and they are abundantly stocked with wild game. The climate is healthy and the seasons mild.' pp. 5, 6.

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The term *hammock*, which is used in this description, we believe is one peculiar to the southern states. It means a piece of ground thickly wooded, whether a plain or a hill, and distinguished from the open oak and hickory land, or the immense forests of thinly scattered pines, which with few exceptions cover the whole face of the country. The word has been confounded with *hummock*, used by mariners to designate the knolls, or small elevations, along the coast.

The description of the coast, which follows, is interesting in a geological view. From the Perdido bay to Cape St Blas, the coast presents a remarkable appearance; the beach is composed of sand as white as snow, with occasional hummocks of pure silex, which, to one sailing along, have the appearance of distant snow-capped hills. From St Blas to the Appalache bay, this changes to a yellowish brown sand, with occasional white hummocks; but after this, the coast is composed of a calcareous rock, covered with grass and rushes, for several miles into the sea. The interior to the east of the Chactahatchee river consists, for the greater part, of a mass of sand, from fifty to an hundred feet in thickness, upon a base of limestone. The difference in the appearance of the coast to the east and west of Cape St Blas, is ascribed by the author to the currents of the gulf being thrown so far out to sea by the shoals of the Tortugas, that they scarcely strike the coast of Florida, until they reach Cape St Blas; and thence westward, the coast being more acted upon by storms and currents, the fine white sand is washed upon the shore. We are not prepared to combat the theory of Mr Williams, but we confess that we are less satisfied with it, than with the simple fact, that this difference of appearance on the coast does exist. Our author proceeds to divide the country into various regions, or districts, for the convenience of a more minute description. The first is the tract between the Escambia, the principal river of the Bay of Pensacola, and the Perdido river, which forms the boundary line which separates Florida from Alabama. This tract is represented as chiefly alluvial, but of uneven surface, in some places even hilly, and finely watered with numerous springs and streams. The substratum is generally a clay of various colors, white, blue, yellow, and red. Strata of dark iron sandstone pervade it in many places, and are often thrown up in small hills, especially in the low grounds, near the water courses. To pursue the description in the words of the author;

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'This clayey substratum is generally covered with a fine, white, siliceous sand, which in its native state produces little more than pine forests and grass; except where the tide or the streams have thrown upon it fossil or vegetable remains; these form hammocks and intervals, rich in vegetable productions. The peninsula, extending between Pensacola bay and St Rosa sound, has not even clay beneath the sand. Peat is sometimes found there in extensive beds, with abundance of cypress and cedar stumps, standing far beneath the sand. A stratum of sandstone, three or four feet in thickness, is forming, some twenty miles from the west end of the peninsula, but it is yet too tender for building.' p. 7.

The second division, is the tract which extends from the north side of St Rosa, or Chactahatchee bay, to the thirty-first degree, and bounded on the east by the Chactahatchee river. Excepting a few narrow strips of land on the river just mentioned, along the Yellow Water, which forms one of the branches of Pensacola bay, and a few tracts on some of the smaller streams, such as the Alaqua, Shoal, Uchee, and Bruce creeks, it is a dreary waste of pine forests, much of it hilly, but abounding with an extraordinary number of streams of the purest water, and extensive pastures for horned cattle. This tract, together with that which has been described, constitutes the two counties of Escambia and Walton; but out of the town of Pensacola, the whole population of both does not exceed eight hundred or a thousand souls. From the Alaqua to the Chactahatchee, the country is somewhat better, but by far the greater part of it consists of pine woods unfit for tillage; the places of better soil uniformly rest on soapstone and limestone formations.

'The soapstone is found in strata, from five to eight feet thick, and extends to the Shoal river. The limestone has been discovered west of the Chactawhatchee, only in the Uchee valley, where it is abundant. On the eastern bank of the Chactawhatchee, the limestone is found less compact than on the western; it seems a congeries of shells, some of them entire, cemented together by a tough aluminous matter. Buhrstone of an excellent quality is found in large masses near the Alabama line. Millstones are made here of a better quality than can be procured from abroad. This stone extends as far eastward as the Flint river, and northward for a hundred miles or more. The structure is nearly compact; the cavities are very small; it appears like a mass of fine escallop shells; is evidently calcareous; and rings like marble. The color is from a light gray to a brown, the break conchoidal, and has an earthy appearance. Ponds and sink holes

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are numerous between the Chactawhatchee and Chapola rivers, and large springs, forming navigable streams, often burst from this formation; the waters, though perfectly transparent, are highly impregnated with lime, and are not generally considered healthy.' pp. 7, 8.

The third division includes the extensive tract of country, which lies between the Chactahatchee and the Appalachicola rivers, and forms the counties of Washington and Jackson. Its surface is very various; but like the division last described, with the exception of the valley of rich land on the Chipola river, by far the most valuable body in the territory, and the river alluvions of the Appalachicola, subject to inundations in summer to the great injury of the crops, and very sickly, this is also a vast forest of pines. There are some smaller spots of tolerable land, such as Holmes's valley, Oak and Hickory hills, the Econfina, in all, including the larger bodies already mentioned, falling short of three hundred thousand acres. It is to be observed, however, that the quality of the soil covered by a growth of pine, is not entirely alike; the sand ridges, although covered with grass, are utterly hopeless in an agricultural view; but there are tracts dispersed in all directions of considerable extent, where the clay lies near the surface, distinguished by a larger growth of pine, intermixed with dogwood and scattering hickories, which may be made to produce by *cowpenning* and manuring. When our country acquires a dense population, such lands may perhaps be cultivated. A remarkable feature in this third division is the number of large ponds, or small lakes, which are scattered over its surface, but not, like those of Tallahassee, surrounded by borders of rich land. Another feature equally remarkable, is the large springs, such is Holmes's, Shackleford's, Big spring of Chipola, and various others, which form navigable streams at once. In this division, also, we find one of the finest bays of the Gulf of Mexico, that of St Andrew's, which will one day become important. It presents a noble sheet of water equal to that of Pensacola, to which it is only inferior as to the quantity of water on its bar. Should the Appalachicola river be conducted into it, and it is said that a canal of a few miles will suffice to accomplish it, a town will rise up as rapidly as did Mobile, and, as a place of commerce, will very soon outstrip Pensacola.

The fourth division stretches from the Appalachicola river

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to the Suwany, and is divided into Gadsden and Leon counties. We shall give the description of this last division in the author's words.

'East of the Appalachicola river, there are few indications of stone, until we approach Leon county. Here a ridge appears above the earth, from four to six miles from the coast, and parallel with it; it dips a few degrees to the SSW., and is probably the edge of that stratum which forms the coast. The navigation of all the streams between St Mark's and Suwannee is impeded by it. This rock resembles chalk, generally of an ash color; some of it, however, is quite white, and is used for chalk. A kind of imperfect flint is imbedded in it, in form of a shelly nucleus. It becomes hard on exposure to the air. The flint is of a light gray color, full of holes, which are filled with the calcareous matter. It breaks with a conchoidal fracture; gives fire freely with steel; is quite opaque, but void of the greasy feel which is peculiar to pure flint. On points of the coast, where the waves have washed the calcareous matter away, these flinty nuclei form extensive and very rugged reefs. The fort of St Mark's is built of this limestone. Grass grows spontaneously on this rock, whether covered with salt or fresh water, even to the depth of twenty feet. Oysters grow in great masses to the rock, and they are very hard to separate from it.

'Through the centre of Gadsden and Leon counties, ridges of clay extend, and form the base of an excellent soil. The upper stratum is red and very pure, and has an unctuous feel; but very small sandstones, of the size of a buck-shot or bullet, pervade the whole mass; this stratum is usually fourteen feet, more or less, in thickness. Under this, a white clay, similar in quality, extends from twenty to thirty feet, which reposes on a rotten limestone; somewhat different, however, from that found in the western part of Jackson county. The shells which compose it are more perfect, and the cement is a calcareous, instead of aluminous matter. It is found to make excellent lime. The springs and streams in this part of the country are very pure; they rise and run over the aluminous formations, but they all at length sink beneath the limestone rock, where, having united their currents and become highly impregnated with lime, they rise at once navigable rivers; such are the St Mark's, the Wakulla, and Oscilla rivers, which from these springs pass over the chalky formation to the sea.' pp. 8, 9.

On the subject of climate, the work before us contains some good remarks. West Florida, from its proximity to the gulf, enjoys the seabreeze, which contributes to health and comfort. The pine woods, especially where it is hilly, are perfectly

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healthy at all seasons, but the vicinity of ponds, marshes, and river alluvions, is subject to all the varieties of bilious affections, heightened by the warmth of the climate. All countries, while covered with their natural forests, may be considered healthy, excepting where, from peculiar circumstances, vegetable putrefaction is hastened in an extraordinary degree.

The writer next devotes several pages to the bays and inlets along the coast. The Perdido, which is the first in order, from west to east, is about thirty miles in length, and, on an average, two in width; but, from the shallowness of the water on its bar, it is of little importance, excepting as the means by which, at some future day, the Bay of Pensacola may be united with that of Mobile. The Bay of Pensacola is decidedly the finest in the Gulf of Mexico, and as a naval station and rendezvous, was worth to us half the price paid for Florida. The least quantity of water, ever found on the bar, is twenty-one feet six inches, which is usually in the winter, after a continuance of northerly winds. Frigates, of the largest size, can enter without difficulty, and by means of lighters, there is very little doubt, that ships of the line might be brought in. The entrance is easily defended, and the sheet of water within, which is free from shoals, is wide and spacious. It has been for two years past our naval depot for the West India station; extensive works are about to be constructed, and it must soon become a place of importance. The shores around the bay are not flat and uniform, but in many places elevated, presenting, particularly above the town, situations beautifully picturesque. St Andrew's bay, which has already been mentioned, was, until lately, but little known; it has at least eighteen feet of water on its bar, is easy of access, has a good anchorage, and is perfectly sheltered from every wind. It divides into two arms, each of which extends far into the country. The rich settlements of Chipola, and several counties of Alabama, will give an impulse to the trade of such establishments as may be formed here, or have by this time probably been effected. St Joseph's bay lies farther to the east, but is more properly a cove formed by the gulf, as it receives no fresh water river. The entrance is at least six miles wide, the greater part of this space being occupied by a middle ground. The depth of water, at its entrance, has been variously represented; our author states it at thirty feet, and such appears to have been the general opinion, until a special examination was

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ordered last summer, when it was found to have but eighteen feet, to the great disappointment of many, who had begun to speculate on the removal of the naval depot from Pensacola. The Appalachicola bay, at the entrance of the fine river of that name, said to be one of the best for steam-boat navigation in the south, is formed by the islands of St Vincent and St George; but is wide, and exposed to the full sweep of the easterly winds. The entrance affords little more than twelve feet of water, while vessels drawing more than eight feet are compelled to lie a long way off from the mouth of the river. The immense marshes, for nearly a hundred miles up this river, must always render any settlement near its mouth peculiarly unhealthy. The Appalache bay is next spoken of; but it is a mere indentation of the coast, which receives the Ocklockney and St Mark's rivers. Fifteen feet of water may be carried into St Mark's, but the river is so much obstructed by oyster banks, that not more than seven or eight feet can be carried up to the Fort, which is notwithstanding the *entrepot* to the rich county of Tallahassee.

The next ten or fifteen pages of the work are taken up with an account of the capes, the islands along the coast, the rivers, and the lakes of West Florida; but as it is not our intention to make an analysis of the whole work, we must recommend its perusal to those who are desirous to make themselves acquainted with these particulars. A considerable portion of the work is occupied with zoölogy, ornithology, and botany, perhaps greater than would be agreeable to general readers. This cannot be said of the historical outline, which was necessary and useful. We extract the account of the limestone caves of Chipola, which is curious and amusing.

'These [natural curiosities] consist, principally, of natural caverns, sinking rivers, great springs, and natural bridges.

'The Arch cave is situated near the public road, about three miles west of the ferries on Chapola river, in Jackson county. It opens, to the east, an aperture under a vast limestone rock; about five feet high, and thirty feet wide. This passage descends gently, for three or four rods; the cavern then opens, to the extent of a hundred feet wide, and fifty feet high. A deep channel of transparent water skirts the south side for some distance; it then breaks off in wells, and finally disappears altogether. The course of the cave now turns northwest; it grows narrower, and resembles an arch of the gothic order. After proceeding about sixty yards, the cave is crossed by a stream twenty feet wide, and

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five deep; in this, numbers of crawfish are seen. After passing this stream, the passage turns north of east and presents a hall, one hundred feet in length; pretty straight, with a very uneven floor of red clay, covered with the debris of the decomposed rock. A row, or rather cluster of stalactical columns, supports the centre of this hall, while thousands of stalactites stretch down their long tubes towards the white bases, which are growing up to meet them, from the floor. Many large holes, in the rock above, are filled with bats, which, on the approach of lights, flit off to other dark recesses, with a roaring sound, like heavy wind.

'The passage now becomes crooked and intricate, for a few rods, and then opens into another lofty apartment, from which there are many avenues, most of which remain unexplored, as well as two water courses, one of which bounds the passage.

'This cave has been explored about four hundred yards. The congelations, on the sides of the walls, have the appearance of grey ice, through which, a sparkling crystallization appears. They often project into curls and folds, representing draperies, and mouldings of inimitable forms. The projections are nearly white, but the same sparkling crystalline appearance continues. The regular stalactites are hollow; the outside, a soft chalky decomposition; the centre, irregular sparry crystals, of a yellowish hue.

'In the neighborhood of the Arch cave, Colonel Stone attempted, in three several places, to sink wells; but in every instance, he came to hollow spaces in the earth; and the well-digger, becoming at length frightened at the danger of entombing himself in some fathomless cavern, abandoned his work.

'The Ladies' cave is about one mile southeast from the Arch cave; it opens to the northwest; the entrance is wider, and easier of access, than the former; it is, also, more spacious within. About fifteen paces from the entrance, it is divided into two passages; the left, about fifty yards in extent, terminates in a deep river, which passes to the north, under a bold arch of sparry congelations, which has not been, and cannot, without a boat, be explored; the banks are bold, rocky, and difficult of access. The right hand passage is formed of rugged rocks, bold projecting pillars, curious excavations, and fanciful galleries, which it would be difficult to describe. The congelations are fine and infinitely various. The passage terminates in a narrow chasm, which has the appearance of a water-course, through which, at about three rods distance, another room appears. This has been but imperfectly explored. To the right of this last branch of the cave, the excavation has been examined about one hundred feet; many holes appear to lead off in different directions; some of these may lead to other caverns.' pp. 35–37.

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Upon the whole, this little volume is creditable to its author, and well deserves a place in our libraries. We have only to add, that it is much to be desired, that Mr Williams should persist in the intention announced in his Preface, of giving the public a similar account of East Florida.

The Appendix contains a number of interesting documents, principally the letters of Mr White, the present delegate of the territory, on various subjects of interest to his constituents, and serving to throw light on the character and resources of the country. We have perused these documents with much satisfaction, and approve highly of this mode of bringing subjects directly before the department which is ultimately to act on them. Mr White possesses a highly liberal and enlightened mind, and has ever manifested himself an active, zealous, and efficient representative. He has, in fact, already laid the groundwork of almost every important measure calculated to ensure the present and future prosperity of the territory which he represents. In procuring the passage of the preëmption law, which met with serious opposition in Congress, he rendered a signal service to his constituents, many of whom, had he failed, would have been driven from their homes, or have fallen victims to merciless speculators. The proposition introduced by him last winter, respecting the propagation of the live oak, has been considered highly deserving of public attention. From a recent survey of Florida, under the direction of the secretary of the navy, for the purpose of ascertaining the quantity of this timber, so valuable for ship-building, it has been discovered, that this is much less than has been supposed. Extensive plantations of live oak, which is said to be of rapid growth, have been ordered by the government to be made in the most suitable places. This kind of forecast is highly commendable. A private English gentleman, Evelyn, a century ago, formed those plantations of oak, which now supply the British navy. But Mr White is chiefly indebted, for the reputation he has acquired, to his well written letters on the subject of Florida canals, and his zealous efforts in Congress to carry his plans into execution. Mainly in consequence of his exertions, aided by the efficient coöperation of Mr Webster, a sum of money, sufficient to cover the expense, was appropriated, and a corps of the most skilful engineers proceeded last spring on this important duty. Their surveys have been completed, but the

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result has not yet been made known to the public. When the practicability of a ship channel, across the northern part of the peninsula, was first suggested by Mr White, it produced a great sensation in our commercial cities, where the dangers and delays of the present navigation round the cape, and among the Bahamas, were known to their sorrow. The importance of such a passage, in every point of view, was so obvious, that many expressed it as their opinion, that if the whole peninsula could be swept away by some convulsion of nature, we should be vastly the gainers by it. The idea of a thorough-cut had something magnificent in it. Its practicability, or rather impracticability, could not be ascertained without a previous examination. If practicable, the benefits which might flow from it, were beyond calculation; and if its execution exceeded our present capacity, the suggestion was still a noble one, though unsuccessful, and by no means deserving the appellation of visionary. Humboldt has suggested the practicability of cutting through the Isthmus of Darien, but it would not follow, if a board of engineers, however able, should report it impracticable, that he was therefore a visionary projector. These remarks are made in justice to Mr White, as the first to suggest a project of great national benefit, but which, it is rumored, has not been found within the reach of any reasonable sum of money to accomplish. It is understood, however, that their report on the second plan suggested in the letters of Mr White, but not entirely original with him, will be decidedly favorable. In importance, it is inferior only to the first. We allude to the continued inland navigation for steam-boats, by connecting canals, from the Mississippi to the St Mary's. If a canal of sufficient size for the passage of steam-boats could be made, it would almost compensate for the failure of the thorough-cut; and it is highly probable, that if the public attention had not been so much awakened by the prospect of accomplishing this last, the practicability of a steam-boat canal would never have been ascertained.

The Answers of Mr M' Comb appear to have been elicited by a number of well directed queries from an intelligent citizen of Berne, Switzerland, and transmitted through General Lafayette. It appears from the answers of Mr M' Comb to these queries, that he is a practical planter, residing in the neighborhood of the fine tract of land voted to the General by Congress, and selected adjoining the city of Tallahassee. Mr

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M' Comb has given some interesting particulars; but we fear somewhat colored by a warm fancy. We cannot be brought to believe that the blessings of this life are so unequally and so partially dispensed among the dwellers on different portions of the earth, as, by the perusal of this paper, we should be led to suppose. We cannot help thinking that the advantages of the Tallahassee district are somewhat exaggerated; and that the counterpart of the picture has not been shown us at all. That it does possess a counterpart, we cannot doubt; otherwise it would be a paradise. It is true, the answers are limited to the questions proposed, and do not profess to give a full account of the country, setting forth what is bad, as well as what is good. Now, judging from a presentment of a grand jury of Tallahassee, which has gone the rounds of the newspapers, we should not pronounce a very high opinion of the state of society and manners in that part of the world. It may be a paradise, but its inhabitants are not angels. It may be said, that such a state of things is incident to new countries. This is doubtless true, and how many other things are incident to new countries, which are nuisances or annoyances to emigrants from old countries? The *infant* state of settlements, is, like the infant state of the world, a *savage* or barbarous state; not indeed literally so, but in a greater or less degree. New settlements are undoubtedly most pleasant to those who are accustomed to them, or who, from long absence from the older settlements, have forgotten the comforts and conveniences which they there enjoyed. No one, who has not had the experience of a new country, is aware of the habits or the conveniences, which he must be prepared to give up, when he thinks proper to emigrate; others indeed may be found in their stead, but they are such as to be most pleasing to one of the cast of mind of Colonel Boon, who loved the solitude of the forest, the freedom from society and its restraints, and who preferred a residence 'forty miles from any place.'* However rapid the increase of population and the improvements of a new country may be, many years must elapse before it can possess the comforts and advantages of an old one. Of these we are not fully sensible until we find the want of them; and as to the delights of the former,

* This was part of Colonel Boon's description of a tract of land in Kentucky, entered by him in the Virginia Land-Office.

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one half of them exist only in the imagination. We have no desire to throw discouragements in the way of those who think they can better their condition by emigration, but to warn them against expectations which must lead to disappointment.

Mr M' Comb prefers a Swiss colony to any other. We think it highly probable, from the steady and persevering character of that people, that they would be most likely to prosper. The French have too much imagination; they will paint a thousand things in the distant perspective, which will not be realized on a near approach; they will become impatient of delay, and disgusted with unexpected obstacles. The Swiss and the Germans have uniformly been found the most contented and persevering of the European emigrants, and consequently the most useful. Mr M' Comb states an important fact with respect to *white laborers* in Middle Florida. He says they *can* and *do* endure the heat of the sun in their agricultural operations, without experiencing the least inconvenience from it. This is owing to the elevation of the land, and to the contiguity of the gulf, and consequently the influence of the seabreeze. The two great staples of the country, he observes, are the sea-island cotton and the sugar-cane, both of which have succeeded, and of course will succeed. In addition to these, he mentions indigo, rice, and all the various grains, and *cerealia* of the southern states. He thinks the Swiss colony might soon derive a profit from the culture of the vine, of which there are eight or ten different species, natives of the woods, where they bear an abundance of grapes. The woods are filled with wild grape vines, which require only the skill of the vine-dresser. The French blue grape, it seems, has in many instances been engrafted on the wild vines, and has borne the second year, and the third abundantly. This is a very important fact, as it goes to prove, that, by taking advantage of the numerous stools or roots, a vineyard might be rendered productive in half, perhaps one third of the time requisite farther north. A population, therefore, acquainted with the culture of the vine, and the manufacture of wine, of both of which our population in general is entirely ignorant, would be a valuable acquisition. Mr M' Comb states, that the olive and the orange have been cultivated in other parts of the territory with success, and that the few orange trees about Tallahassee, from three to four years old, have never suffered the slightest injury from frost. The white

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mulberry has been successfully introduced; the purple mulberry is a native of the forests, and very abundant. Mr M' Comb says, that 'fruit trees from Prince's botanic garden, New York, have succeeded well, particularly peaches, nectarines, and apricots. The plum, cherry, mulberry, *olive*, orange, and *apple* grow wild. In fact, I never knew a country where the forests abound with a greater variety of indigenous fruit.' The celebrated botanist, Michaux, speaks of a wild olive found in Florida, it is believed the only part of America where it is known, unless in the adjoining portions of the southern states. But its fruit is small, and bitter, and of no value. Perhaps it might furnish valuable stocks to engraft on. The *apple* spoken of, we presume, is the crab-apple. It is generally understood, that the orchard apple and the garden cherry are not successfully cultivated so far south. The wild oranges spoken of, are mentioned by Mr Williams as the sour, and what is called the bitter-sweet. These are only a few of the facts stated by Mr M' Comb, in his pamphlet, which contains much valuable information for emigrants, making some allowance for what, to us, appears somewhat overcharged.

Florida is undoubtedly a most important acquisition to these United States, in a military and political, if not in a commercial and agricultural view. We should always have been uneasy with this country in the hands of a foreign power. Tribes of Indians not under our control; the mouths of some important southern rivers in a foreign territory; the communication on the line of seacoast interrupted between the southern states; important harbors on the gulf in the hands of those who might be enemies, or at least favor those who were;—these and many other considerations urged to the acquisition of Florida. The sovereignty was well worth the five millions paid for it, especially as the amount was employed in relieving our own citizens, and creating a capital which contributed to the more rapid developement of the resources of our own country. All that can be added to Florida may be considered as so much clear gain, by increasing the wealth, commerce, and resources of the nation; and we think it decidedly the policy of the government to give every encouragement to its speedy population and improvement.

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ART. VIII.—*Personal Sketches of His Own Times.* By Sir JONAH BARRINGTON, Judge of the High Court of Admiralty in Ireland, &c.

THE entertaining character of these 'Sketches' has been sufficiently evinced by their wide circulation, and the liberal extracts from them into the newspapers and other journals. It is evident, therefore, that we are not introducing a new book to the notice of the public. The freedom of Sir Jonah's pencil, and the extravagance of his coloring, have certainly not diminished the popularity of his pictures, though they may have lessened the faith of his readers in their perfect fidelity. They would have been deemed, perhaps, less veritable still, if they had not related to a people whose national characteristics are as eccentric as their political and social condition is singular and unhappy.

After all that we had read or heard of Ireland, however, and though prepared to find in Irish society more than the usual ill results of misrule and oppression, we have read Sir Jonah's details with almost as much surprise as sorrow. Even the wretchedness of the lower orders will not strike his readers so much, as the state of social intercourse among the higher. Those portions of the book, especially, which relate to *Duelling*, with anecdotes of which, both ludicrous and melancholy, it is abundantly seasoned, excite a horror which is not lessened by the levity with which the subject is treated by the author. The madness of private brawl pervaded all classes and professions, and would seem to have been regarded as an essential part of Irish gentility. A time will come, it can hardly be doubted, when the bloody code of honor which our author has been at the pains to record, 'the thirty-six commandments,' as they were irreverently called, established by a convention of polite duellists, will be regarded as the last inspirations of madness in men made desperate by misrule and anarchy. Even making large allowance for a caricaturing pencil, what we find in the 'Sketches' may create a reasonable doubt, whether there are many notions more absurd, than to fancy any connexion between the existence of this usage, and the courtesy and refinement of our modern manners. These are qualities less valuable than are supposed, if they can be imagined to have flourished in Ireland at the era in

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question. Yet there was evidently no lack of these champions of good manners, the most pacific professions having contributed their quota; but, as has happened to other martyrs, in cases of like dubious merit, with no sensible benefit to the public. We must take the occasion presented by these 'Sketches,' to say something on a subject which our readers may perhaps think already over trite.

There are too many fatal examples to the contrary, to permit us to doubt, that in the present state of public opinion on this point, a false honor may drive individuals of both sense and virtue, to the commission of this modification of murder. Yet do we confidently predict, that civilization will not be long in exploding it, as much for its strange absurdity as its wickedness. We are fain to think that common sense has in this matter more adherents than openly avow themselves, who wait, as it were, some convenient time, and some note of concert among themselves, to revolt against this tyrant of society, which may be truly called bloody without a figure, and to set up the lawful ruler instead. If one did not daily see innumerable prejudices persevered in by mankind, for which they have long ceased to pretend any sound reason, this revolt of the friends of good sense would seem near at hand. For though some persons, pressed, we suppose, for a reason, very gravely tell us that the duel is a remnant of that right of private war which was abolished by the institution of society; left us for the revenge of injuries which social laws cannot reach; the thing seems, by the better opinion, to have just so much foundation in reason, as is included in the customary reply to grave casuists who cavil at it. This runs commonly in such phrases as 'The thing seems absurd enough; but it is a necessary evil;' or, 'This is a matter about which it is quite useless to reason;' which last seems true enough indeed of one side of the question.

An ancient custom is, however, like an old tree, which may stand upright a long time after the roots that nourished it are decayed. A sort of *vis inertiæ* influences our moral nature, which, like that of material bodies, seems to fix it in an old habit of thinking, or, if the philosophical reader pleases, makes it run on in an old course of error, long after the impression of the original impulse. Most of the monstrous absurdities which men have at length seen fit to reform, have even been lamented as lost benefits; from the monastic institu-

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tions which once fed, in the most industrious of modern states, a lazy and vicious population, down to the law of primogeniture which has vanished under the good sense of our own. There are some worthy persons, and judicious thinkers too, who yet fancy they see in the abolishment of this last, the end of all legitimate gentility; on no better grounds of belief, we hope, than of those *élèves* of the old school, who lament the disuse of hair-powder, not on the score of ornament merely, but as the removal of another patrician distinction; and who not long since regarded cropped hair as an infallible mark of Jacobinism, as their fathers saw, in the disappearance of the hoop, the removal of one more entrenchment of modesty. But as these extravagances of superstition, pride, and dress have vanished one after the other, it is perhaps no folly to expect a time when the fashion we have borrowed from a fiercer age, of spilling blood on frivolous and fantastic pretences, will seem as strange and unreasonable, as if a modern English peer were to fortify his villa, and sally out against his neighbors, in imitation of the warlike barons, his predecessors. If the exquisite romance of Cervantes had all the influence ascribed to it, in dispelling the lingering fooleries of knight-errantry, what a noble object awaits genius in the composition of a work of like avail against a fashion of like origin and like absurdity!

An old usage, nevertheless, is not to be dismissed merely because it is old; and as the extraordinary pretension to violate, in this particular matter, the laws of God and the dictates of reason, has obtained widely in Christendom, our readers might suppose, from the very singularity of the thing, that it rested on deep and stable foundations. They may, at any rate, think the case entitled to a hearing; from which no worse consequence can follow, than that we shall at least be furnished with reasons for what to many seems a remarkable absurdity in modern manners, and likely to lessen the opinion of posterity of our sober sense. We shall even throw out of view any obligations which may seem to arise out of the law of God, as an argument which, for some valid reason we presume, is by courtesy left to sleep in the controversy. Nor are we so idle as to address ourselves to all sorts of persons indifferently; neither to them whose vivacity, finding no vent through the apertures of wit and fancy, necessarily flames out in the grosser element of animal courage; nor to those impatient aspirants after fame, who delight to think themselves, as

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it were, within pistol-shot of her citadel; nor to those who have no reasonable expectation of achieving notoriety by any other path than this of the *duellum*. But as the sage consoled himself, that however the world might go wrong, there would always be a corner in it where a philosopher might hide; so may we suggest to these last, that there are always fastnesses enough of rudeness and barbarity, where their single talent, now useless, nay inconvenient, in the busy mart or the polite saloon, may find its proper use in quelling spirits one degree fiercer than themselves; and where they may brawl, at the worst, without the expense of lives more valuable than their own.

There is another large class of readers, to whom, though for an opposite reason, it must be equally needless to address ourselves. Many, we hope, there are, who own themselves, without shame, of too feeble or too sober a temper, to 'seek the bubble, reputation,' in the pistol's mouth, though, on proper occasion, they might in the cannon's; and who, regarding the fanaticism of honor as no wiser than that of religion, would think as little of building their reputation on 'a good shot,' as their faith on

'The holy text of pike and gun.'

As their blunt perception sees not how a man's good name is set up by his falling in his private brawl, and a corresponding soberness of fancy lays them less open to the accesses of jealous and fantastical punctilio, we may reckon on them as our allies of course against the *Monomachists;* (we want a name, and this may serve as well as 'Fire-Eaters,' 'Yahoos,' or any other.) Our concern is chiefly with that middle party, who, though they pursue not the *duellum* as a business, and still less as an amusement, persuade themselves that it is what they are pleased to call a necessary evil; a bulwark between the gentleman and the ruffian; a vindication of offences which, through the halting of justice, cannot otherwise be overtaken; and, at all events, an ordeal that, as opinion now runs, must be undergone by every one who would keep his honor, or (what they choose to regard as the same thing) his courage unblemished. Though often reluctant champions of the point of honor, they are still less ready to be martyrs in the cause of true morals; to which, however, it is the more important to gain them, not only as a party whose considerable numbers

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would weigh down the scale in favor of good sense and public quiet, but as comprehending no small amount of virtue and just feeling. Nor were it a small point gained, to rescue them from a dilemma the most painful to a good mind; that of fighting in a cause when scarcely half convinced of its justice. As the equally valiant, and hardly less wise Sir Hudibras exclaims;

> 'What rage, O citizens! what fury
> Doth to these direful actions hurry?
> What œstrum, what phrenetic mood
> Makes you thus lavish of your blood,
> Which ye are bent to throw away
> In vain, untriumphable fray?'

Our barbarous ancestors themselves, from whom we derive this venerable abuse, might smile at the foolish pertinacity which retains it in circumstances so different. We do them, however, great injustice if we imagine that, in resorting to the duel, they had any view to our fantastical notion of the 'point of honor.' Instead of being an offence as with us, that, notwithstanding its reception with the polite, scarcely escapes 'unwhipt of justice,' it was originally (and before chivalry had arisen to show us how symmetrical an edifice Folly can sometimes build up) only one of the forms of their rude jurisprudence, a clumsy and inartificial method of arriving at the truth, which, however absurd in itself, was natural to a fierce and ignorant people. A Goth or Burgundian, observing the ponderous structure of our jurisprudence at this day; the solemn courts, the astute advocates, the thousand tomes of learning, the exquisite logic of evidence; all adapted or intended to protect property, life, and honor, by extorting truth from its most perplexed combinations;—would doubt whether it was in madness or in ridicule, that in questions confessedly the most delicate, we resorted to that rough trial of arms by which he had been wont to invoke the award of Heaven, in despair of eliciting truth by any process of his own. His amazement, again, would not be less, to hear that this happy method of adjusting differences was not, however, a mode of trial sanctioned by the laws, but a sort of customary privilege of flying in the face of them, in injuries of particular enormity; especially if he learned that this vast machinery, though regarded as a sufficient protection of property and life, was thought to prescribe no adequate penalty for a chance blow, or an opprobrious word.

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If our barbarian looked a little farther into the structure of society, his astonishment at this singularity would be proportionally increased. In the same degree that he admired the diffusion and the preëminence of the arts of peace, he would be perplexed to see the worth and honor of their cultivators referred to so rough and so unapt an arbitrement. 'Consider,' he might say, 'in how many particulars my age differed from yours, and thus conceive my surprise at their coïncidence in this. Mine was ignorant and rude. Perjury flourished at a great rate among my barbarous contemporaries; and any caitiff might find some twenty compurgators to swear away the most notorious crime, with as little remorse as oaths, in your day and with some nations, are taken at the custom-house. On the other hand, we were busy with war, and skilless in all the arts of peace, especially in the intricate logic of your courts; and in leaving, as we thought, to Heaven the discovery of truth, at least avoided confounding it by any ignorance of ours. This appeal, besides, was not quite so much an affair of chance, nor altogether so absurd as you imagine. Every one who esteemed reputation in my day, must, of necessity, seek it in war. He would therefore be familiar with the exercises of arms, and capable of defending his good name much in the same proportion that he valued it. Hence his success in combat was in some sort an evidence of his honor and his virtue; because these among us consisted principally in bravery and skill in arms, as imbecility and cowardice were the greatest vices. Among you I perceive a quite different condition of things; all your policy tending to peace, and the most eminent honors being reserved for the successful in its arts. Your intellectual habits, your elegant pursuits, give force to the mind at the expense of the body. Your very courage is rather civic than warlike. Among such a people, when a man's honor or virtue is called into question, instead of expecting him to establish it by a personal combat with his accuser, it might be rather less absurd that they should contend which could produce the best poem, or make the best speech, or invent the best labor-saving machine. Nay, the very selection of your weapon in such cases, betrays a certain inelegance and brutality, since skilfulness in the use of it implies neither graceful exercise of the body, nor acuteness of eye, nor presence of mind, nor, lastly, any display of courtesy and humanity in the encounter itself. The fatal bullet may be sped with the same deadly aim, against the

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lightest offender in a mere punctilio, and the most culpable assassin of your happiness or fame. You therefore, in this appeal to a yet blinder chance, ought to be counted more barbarous than we; as you must seem also more absurd, to abandon the award of laws designed with so much art and care, for the rude arbitrement of arms.

'With us, too,' might our observant barbarian continue, supposing him to know something of our complex modes of trial, 'the giving of the lie was like your putting in the plea, and nothing more, and the ordering of the combat was like joining the issue. But if a fact were notorious in the eyes of all men; if a man had been openly assassinated in the market-place; or if another had been appealed of murder, and the supposed victim presently appeared in public; or if one challenged for a crime, visibly showed that it had been committed by the appellant himself; in these cases our judges, though they wore no ermine, and were not the profoundest of casuists, naturally concluded the combat to be useless, and would not suffer it to proceed against the evidence of their own senses. But these wholesome and essential limitations seem quite to have slipped out of your modern code of honor. Flagrant crime may neither disqualify the criminal to challenge, nor exempt his accuser from answering his defiance. A man may defraud his creditors, and betray his friend, and be notoriously divorced from truth; yet your code of honor allows him to vindicate a reputation thus certain and established, by appeal to the uncertain issue of a combat, though no one in his sober senses would trust or believe him, and the fruits of his fraud may rise palpably in brick and mortar in the streets. Nay, a man shall one day pronounce a fellow to have neither conscience nor character, and, the next, stand on points for him as his *second*, and hear no question of the honor of *his friend*. Your absurdity goes one step farther yet, in requiring a man of the most unblemished fame, if he chance to have his toes trodden on by one of these convicts by common consent, to demand of him what he is plainly unable to give, "the satisfaction of a gentleman." These inconsistencies make me repeat involuntarily what one of your philosophers has been pleased to say of his ancestors, my contemporaries, and retort with fresh force, from the change of times, my wonder that you "should rest the honor, fortune, and life of a citizen on a mere hazard; and should resort to proofs so incapable of con-

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victing, that they have no connexion whatever with either innocence or guilt.' "*

These are the reflections of a barbarian; but they may be worth pursuing a little farther. 'You would be more excusable,' he might add, 'if you could plead your superstition in your behalf, and if you really believed that chance would befriend the right in these murderous encounters. You might then claim to be on a level with my barbarous predecessors, the Germans, who in their civil wars regarded the event of the first single combat, as the actual decision of Heaven; or with your modern barbarians, the Turks, who respect as such the first victory achieved. But the codes of my own day were in other respects preferable to that by which you are pleased to regulate your concerns of honor. By the law of the Thuringians, an adulteress was condemned to the ordeal of the boiling water (another test of truth, which I wonder you have not retained), only when she could find no one to defend her. This shows that a reputation served a better purpose among them than with you. At a later day, among the Franks, a man who was weak in body, or had no taste, perhaps, for the battle, or was much occupied with affairs, might hire a champion to fight all his causes to issue, or take care of his reputation, for a time certain, and for a stipulated sum; just as he hired a bailiff to take care of his feud. For the very reason that this was thought a bad custom among us, it would be an excellent one among a peaceable people like you. So if a criminal accused his judges of false judgment, he was obliged to fight them all. Lewis the Fat, who thought the exertion too great perhaps, even for a criminal, reformed this rule, I hear; but were it applied to many of your duellists, of a certain reputation, it might give them as much fighting as they could do in their whole lives, and make them perhaps less eager to begin. What surprises me not the least, is the importance you attach to a blow. We ourselves were not insensible to pain, and therefore punished a blow by the fine of a *sou*, two blows with two *sous*, and so on according to the extent of the injury. With you, I learn from the philosopher I have quoted before, one blow is equivalent to a hundred thousand! This strange mode of valuation it is, no doubt, which explains the contradiction, that while you sometimes kill a man for jostling you at

* Spirit of Laws.

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the play, you think you sufficiently punish him for propagating against you the vilest slanders, by lightly laying a whip across his shoulders.'

Our observer would be hardly the wiser, at least not the better convinced, were he told, as he might be by some grave antiquary, that these niceties so foreign to the vulgar reason, had their origin in the chivalrous age; that as he who had once engaged his word, was not allowed in the judicial proceedings of the barbarous times, to retract it without a penalty, so, in the fantastical period which succeeded, to be even accused of what was in fact a legal offence, might well be accounted a gross insult. That anciently only villains fought on foot, and with a batoon, instead of on horseback, and with a lance; hence to be struck with a stick, or on certain parts of the body, came afterwards to be deemed an especial affront to gentility. The like exception was taken to a box on the ear, because a knight never fought with his face uncovered. 'This,' he might reply, 'explains well enough the origin of these punctilios, but seems no just excuse for sustaining them by such disproportionate penalties. Besides, the age you appeal to, was as fantastical as yours is sober. A knight-errant would now be encaged in the house of correction; a lover of the chivalrous stamp would be taken to have lost his wits; even a tournament would be likely to be dispersed by the peace-officers, with "the power of the county." At least limit this peculiar privilege of the gentleman to such as, by the more ancient rules of chivalry, would have been entitled to the honors of the tourney; to him that is of gentle blood by four descents at the least, and can display a legitimate coat-armor, not placed at random on the pannels of his coach by his coachmaker. Deny it, by the same rule, to any that has blasphemed God, or offended the ladies; is wanting in courtesy, or is false to his word, to gratitude or honor; has deserted his comrade in a difficulty, or assailed his enemy without warning, or by indirect means despoiled him of his estate. Put all these without the pale of the field of honor, and the enviable privilege of jousting in it, might safely be entrusted to those who would remain.'

As it thus appears that we have made wide deviations from the code of honor, as it subsisted in 'the high and palmy state' of its empire, it is but fair to inquire how far it consists, as now reformed, with the peace and dignity of society. We shall be pardoned for pursuing this inquiry somewhat discur-

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sively, for the same reason that regular tactics are laid aside in a *guerilla* warfare; as, to say the truth, we hardly know on what point of reason our antagonists make head, or on which to direct our attack. Yet as we may daily observe many otherwise judicious persons running the risk of being shot through the body, or actually losing their lives, to the great detriment of their affairs, and the yet greater discomfort and grief of their families; it were unfair to set them down for mad, without some formal inquest of the motives which prompt them thus to 'set their lives at a pin's point.'

If our men of honor, in shooting an adversary through the head, did not eagerly disclaim all views to revenge, and were there not something in this passion quite inconsistent with the generosity we are wont to ascribe to a gentleman, we might set down the usage to the account of this, one of the blindest and most headlong of our propensities. But that this were an error as regards a great portion of them, may appear from the great placableness of the combatants, who, on the least blood drawn, and often on the expenditure of a certain amount of gunpowder, are seen to forgive imputations which (had they been better marksmen) might have been washed away in blood; to say nothing of those, who, the usage apart, are heartily disposed to let pass both the affront and the revenge. The generosity evinced on these occasions may indeed be deemed excessive. For as in polite society, all who are admitted are, for the time, on a footing of equality, so among such as are admitted to the privilege of the *duellum* (as the worthy Baron of Bradwardine calls it), considerations which are thought of moment in other affairs, whether of bargain or compromise, seem to be wholly lost sight of. Thus he who, with the loss of life, would lose, at the same time, the highest fortune and the largest honors, is no more considered than his antagonist, who may have nothing to lose in this world, either in fortune or good name. We submit to our court of honor the hardship of this case. In this wager of battle, the stakes should be equal; and though for ordinary purposes a good appearance and a polite address may well enough pass a man for a gentleman, some stricter *qualification* might seem not unreasonable, to entitle him to draw blood in these honorable encounters.

But were one ever so blindly intent on revenge, he could not be quite insensible to the treacherous part, which the world

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plays on these occasions; first, like the author of all evil, seducing him into the mischief, and then abandoning him without consolation to its bitter fruits. For however tyrannical it be in exacting this bloody sacrifice to its opinion, or rather this martyrdom in what it calls the cause of honor and good manners, we do not find that it reserves for the zealots of its faith any of the honors of the martyr. Instead of paying the price of blood with extraordinary suffrages of its respect, thus applying those outward unctions by which the inward smart of conscience is sometimes appeased, it plays the part of a great personage to his bravo, whose mercenary murders are rewarded with ill dissembled aversion. In this point of view, the wholesale murderers of the species, soldiers of fortune and conquering kings, are many times more fortunate and prudent, as they either bind the vulgar opinion to their victorious car, or defy it in the insolence of power. Our *Monomachist*, on the contrary (and the better man he is, the more inevitable is this result), pines through the world, with the mark of blood on his brow, a kind of wandering Jew in the ordinary circle of life. The bloody passage in his history is indeed, by the common consent of his friends, buried in a silence, which is, however, not oblivious. The very caution with which all allusion to it is avoided, awakes the jealous remorse, which slumbers, another Argus, with open eyes in his bosom. The ignorant regard him with such superstition as they feel near the ruin which tradition has stained with crime; the wiser, with such a respect at best, as the ancients attached to spots which had been stricken with thunder. The warmest defence that is made of him (for an apology is no less required by the inconstancy of opinion, for having struck the blow, than for failing to strike it) seldom goes beyond what is to be found in the common turn of expression; 'If *ever* a man was justified in fighting, it was he;' a dreadful doubt indeed, in a case which is irreparable. The wretch, who can be callous to these significations of the natural sentiment, must be left to the scourge of a more awful tribunal. We will not ask what part conscience takes meanwhile; whether, like the gold of the miser in his secret chest, she consoles the martyr for the censure of the populace;* or, her whispers growing more audible as the voice of the world is remote, she plays through life the per-

*Hor. Sat.

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plexed casuist; weighing the extreme revenge against the frivolous provocation, the code of honor against the law of God and of the land, the breath of opinion against the stifled sighs of remorse. But we have insensibly grown serious.

This examination might turn out more satisfactorily to our casuist, if he could always array some substantial wordly good gained, against this unquietness of his conscience. But it happens strangely and unluckily, that while he may, nay, often must incur this bloodguiltiness for some light punctilio, he cannot decently nor safely either, by means of it, protect his estate, or rid himself of an inconvenient rival, or revenge even the more serious injuries to his good fame. This summary justice may indeed for ever put it out of a rude fellow's power to jostle him rudely in a crowd, or obstruct his view at the play; but he must betake him to the vulgar tribunals of justice to exculpate himself from a charge of overreaching in a bargain, or forging a deed, or making way with a will. As it seems, then, that our law of honor either goes too far, or not far enough, those that feel themselves under compulsion to obey it, ought to bethink them of extending its jurisdiction to more important matters.

The professed Fire-Eater himself might have some reason for his taste, if by a fortunate *hit* he could regain the reputation, which no other known act of his life has perhaps given him the least claim to; or by taking the life of one man of probity, could win or enforce the opinion of the rest. But it is the defect of this sort of argument, rigorous as it may appear, that though sometimes necessary, it seems, to support an established reputation, that indeed to reason requires no such supererogatory proof, it is never imagined to set up any that has no better foundation. The common understanding is not so depraved as to give him credit for more than hardiness of nerve and precision of eye. The most it can do for an infirm character, is to stifle the loudness of reproach, and give a conscious scoundrel the satisfaction of knowing, that all people think him a dirtier fellow than they care to express. We have seen some of these bullies in our time, walking like 'the pestilence at noon-day,' and reading contempt and hate so much the more visibly in the eyes of all, for that they forbore to give them tongue.

But nothing shows this folly in a stronger light, or more forcibly displays the tyranny of opinion, than a reflection

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which must occur to every wise observer of life. How few of the best of us can hope to unite all suffrages in our favor, or have our actions justly scanned, much less our sentiments truly appreciated! And as this arises not seldom out of the dulness or the baseness of others, the applause of the crowd is often as little to be desired as to be hoped. A man of sense and spirit, therefore, may sometimes, without either insolence or pride, take no displeasure from knowing that he is obnoxious to the vulgar censure, and might doubt the reality of that virtue which found no enemies. 'I hate him because he is just,' is no paradox to him who has observed how constantly vice feels itself, as it were, reproached by virtue. From what weakness, then, or inconsistency in our nature is it, that a man, thus careless of the censure of the million, shall sometimes go to buffets with a single slanderer from the crowd. Yet this same individual, should he happen to be eminent in power or place, or to lead the front of party, or to embark on the fretful sea of a political canvass, endures with wonderful fortitude all the slanders against his patriotism and his honesty, and hears himself, with a smile, likened to all the traitors and conspirators infamous in story. Our modern history furnishes some instances, indeed, where those, who, at the same moment, were shaking Europe with the terror of their arms, or wielding it by their policy, have descended to play the champion in this lesser field; which seems about as ridiculous, by the way, as if Cicero had challenged a conscript father for reflecting on his birth, or Mark Antony had sent a card to the author of the 'Philippics.' If there is a conspicuous absurdity in these pugnacious ebullitions of the great, who, confiding to the judgment of mankind the higher acts and motives of their lives, can descend to settle points with some obscure antagonist; the folly of those is not less, who, in a lower sphere of action, have the wit to estimate justly the opinion of the crowd, without the civic courage to resist, in this matter, its fantastical requisitions.

From all these inconsistencies one would really be tempted to conclude, that the punctilio, which we call the point of honor, if not merely an inveterate habit of thinking, retained because men have not yet been at the pains to reflect on its whole absurdity, is a kind of maniacal infusion into the otherwise sober temperament of the age; such as is sometimes seen in the constitution of individuals, and is depicted in the worthy

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knight of La Mancha, the last specimen of a like folly, a little more preposterous.

That ingenious refiner, the author of the 'Spirit of Laws,' informs us, that honor is the principle of monarchies. That honor, as he describes it, is somewhat fantastical, mixed up, if we understand him, of artificial punctiliousness, ambition of dignities, and jealousy of personal bravery; all admirably adapted to make subjects revolve round the sovereign as the fountain of honors, and join cause with him against the plebeian orders of the state; to make the gentleman a creature of modes and caprices; and sustain a warlike nobility, always prompt for the schemes of ambitious conquest. To encourage, at least not to discountenance the punctilio we have been treating of, might be a sort of wisdom in kings, who thus regard their subjects as so many pageants in the array of pomp, or so many brute instruments in the *matériel* of war. But as our institutions require no such artificial distinction of the gentleman from the commonalty, nor the training of a mere soldiery, it is the less necessary to abuse and distort reason, with any view of policy, or foster a sentiment which has no true foundation in nature. Better and nobler that sentiment of the Romans, which decreed a crown to him, who had saved the life of a citizen; a sentiment yet more just among us, where, by the spirit of our laws, he is part of the majesty of the state, and where, through the happiness of our circumstances, it is his rational, not his brute properties, that are required for its service. If European rulers look on government as a game, played for their diversion, and where all the pieces are of much the like value; it should with us rather resemble the higher combinations of chess, where their values are different, and where they should be sacrificed with some reference to these respectively. Now our code of honor listens to none of these distinctions; but absurdly proceeds as if all men were rationally as well as politically equal.

This leads us to say a word to the gentlemen of our army and navy, whom we can by no means except from the influence of these considerations, nor hold excused for risking, in private brawl, the life which belongs more peculiarly to their country. Courage is not, as it might have been considered in a barbarous age, so exclusively the praise of a soldier, that it must be demonstrated at all risks, even at the expense of patriotism and conscience; and that it cannot be let to sleep,

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in scorn of the silly or the brawling, till, like my uncle Toby's, 'proper occasion calls it forth.' It is not in peace, that 'the sword is the proper argument of the soldier;' nor is it to be drawn, at any rate, on every light occasion, any more than a man of breeding thinks of disturbing the current of social discourse, with trenchant arguments and sturdy logic. Yet if the raw recruit, whose sword is yet unfleshed, persists in referring his courage to this doubtful proof, the veteran of many battles has no such excuse; for at least the ambition of acting on this poor field, ought to be understood as an acknowledgement, that the combatant has never had and never expects to have the honor of acting on a better.

We shall here conclude with some suggestions for the consideration of those especially, who honestly think this barbarous usage is in some strange manner one of the guards and defences of our modern refinement; a class of thinkers the more likely to perpetuate the abuse, for the reason, that the errors of a man of virtue are always of the most dangerous example.

It must be allowed, in the first place, to be some objection to this method of enforcing the lesser morals, that it gives the advantage precisely to those who most require to be awed into civility. The temper which is prone to insult and outrage, has thus the farther satisfaction of making amends after its own fashion, and of blowing out a man's brains as a compensation for having trod on his toes. The sensibility, on the other hand, which most avoids contention, brawl, and contumely, must find the least pleasure in exacting this rigorous penalty. Thus the absurdity is involved, of making champions for decorum out of the very persons most likely to violate it, which is not much wiser than making the town-watch out of the thieves and vagrants. How apt these Prætorian bands in the empire of honor are to turn their arms against their own sovereign, needs no better proof than what our author has furnished us in his sketches of Irish society, where the order seems to have been less, as the champions were many. Nor, perhaps, will some parts of our own country, the Tipperary and Galway of these states, serve our argument less; where not only these conservators of social quiet are more numerous, but the arms they carry are more effective. It should follow that our civility ought to increase as we travel towards the frontier, and the pistol gives way to the musket or the rifle.

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It may, in the next place, strike the observant, that the affairs of honor have by no means increased, but greatly diminished in Christendom, during this age. We have the candor to own that this is susceptible of two explanations; first, that we are in reality, as our grandfathers assure us, much behind our predecessors in all the courtesies and arts of life; or, secondly, that by the excellent practice of duelling, the world is at length so reduced into politeness, that fewer occasions now offer for its exercise. This last reason seems the more agreeable of the two, as it holds out a hope of our presently dispensing with it altogether. It is certain, if we may trust the elder comedies, that the fine gentlemen of that day oftener whipped out their blades in coffee-houses, as they were also more used to put modest women out of countenance, and stagger drunk into their presence. Such a revolution, like all others, must be supposed to have cost as much blood as wit. At present, too, the most delicate 'affair' may be settled by the principals alone. A century ago, the seconds were expected in courtesy to take part; and in an age yet ruder, before the *duellum* had yet time, we suppose, to display all its benign effect, whole families, Montagues, and Capulets, on both sides, were fairly engaged on these honorable occasions.

Again, as it is the aim of the courteous Monomachist to draw the least possible blood that will satisfy his honor, the greatest civility and good manners ought, by this rule, to reside in those baser classes of society, who practise a more bloodless monomachy, stripping on the instant insult, and boxing their antagonists into good manners. Nor can it be thought an objection, that this mode of combat gives the advantage to the strong or active pugilist, instead of the skilful marksman, since of the two, the former art is the more promotive of health and beauty in its possessor, and less apt to be fatal to his antagonist. Our polite neighbors, the English, are so sensible of this, that gentlemen of condition promote pugilism by all means, and even learned judges look complacently on a mode of reasoning which Cicero, in his Roman rudeness, thought proper to beasts. Even assassination itself may be thought to have this advantage over our honorable murder, that it is obliged to go covertly like a villain in the dark, instead of assuming, as it were, the port of a gentleman, and stalking, like the latter, in open daylight. We have never heard, for instance, of any law among the Italians or Portuguese, enjoining on their dignitaries

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to swear, that they had never committed an assassination; whereas some of our own legislative bodies have gravely required of their members this solemn denial of murder; as at a Botany Bay assembly, as the jest runs, it is the rule, that none shall cheat at cards, or pick any of the company's pocket, for that time.

Lastly, we should be glad to know by what change of the principles of human action it falls out, that the forbearance which we heroically applaud in a pagan, we treat as cowardice and dishonor in a christian. The 'Strike, but hear,' not only reads as well in English as in Greek, but seems no more out of place in a modern than a classical republic; besides according with a christian maxim which may be known to some readers. Moreover, it consists entirely with the sentiments of that common reason, which still breaks out from the deepest and most fantastical clouds of popular error. But whether our readers shall agree with us or not, that the sort of honor we have been considering, is, like Falstaff's, 'a mere 'scutcheon,' our limits admonish us that we must here end our 'catechism.'

ART. IX.—*A Voyage to the Eastern Seas in the year* 1816; *including an Account of Captain Maxwell's Attack on the Batteries at Canton; and Notes of an Interview with Bonaparte at St Helena, in August*, 1817. By CAPTAIN BASIL HALL, Royal Navy. 18mo. pp. 331. G. & C. Carvill. New York.

THE embassy of Lord Amherst to the court of China twelve years ago, together with the events of the voyage performed by the British vessels of war, the Alceste and the Lyra, on that occasion, and particularly the account of the Loo Choo islands narrated by the voyagers on their return, are doubtless in the recollection of many of our readers. The Alceste, commanded by Captain Murray Maxwell, and the Lyra, a ten gun brig commanded by Captain Basil Hall, were despatched to convey the ambassador and his suite to the river Pei Ho, at the confluence of which with the Yellow Sea they were to debark and proceed to Pekin. The particulars of this mission we shall not recount, but confine ourselves to the little volume be-

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fore us, from the perusal of which we acknowledge at the outset, that we have derived much amusement and profit.

Soon after Captain Hall's return to England, he published an account of his voyage in an elegantly printed volume, accompanied with appropriate drawings, an appendix containing original charts constructed from his own surveys, and several scientific tracts suited for the instruction of future navigators, who should explore the seas which he had visited. This work was too expensive for general circulation, but it was so well received by the public, that the author was induced to prepare another edition, from which he excluded the scientific articles, and clothed the narrative in a somewhat more popular dress. He seems, indeed, to have spared no pains in this revision. The style is essentially altered throughout, four entire chapters have been added on topics connected with the voyage, but not embraced in the first narrative, and numerous original paragraphs are here and there interspersed from beginning to end. In its present character, therefore, we deem it a new work, and shall proceed to make our readers acquainted with its contents as such, notwithstanding the general interest, which Captain Hall's description of the Loo Choo people excited at the time it was first published, as well in this country as in England. The edition now offered to the American public, we suppose to have been reprinted from the last Edinburgh edition, although it bears indications of some very slight alterations by the author.

The curious and important events, which thicken upon us as we advance in the volume, will not allow us to dwell with Captain Hall in his first chapter, which takes us very agreeably from England to Java. We will venture to remark, however, that the story of his interview with the natives at Anjeer Point, of their appearance and amusements, is told in his best manner. He describes a wedding which he had the honor of attending, and at which he found, among other guests, 'ten venerable personages with long beards, seated on a low table, round several smoking bowls of rice, and messes of meat cut into small pieces.' Being invited to join this group of ancients, and partake of the wedding feast, he instantly complied, mounted the table with becoming gravity, and in default of forks and spoons, and in imitation of his associate guests, he made that use of his fingers for which nature contrived them. His companion was in a less tractable humor, protested 'he

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saw no fun in this,' and refused the proffered hospitality. Meanwhile 'the happy couple were seated in great state in a deep recess on one side of the apartment, bolstered up with a dozen of large pillows covered over with gilt trimmings.' These persons were solemn and demure, said nothing, and took no notice of any body, nor of anything that passed. How the wedding ended we cannot report, for at this stage of the ceremony, to our no little disappointment, the author abruptly leaves us, and goes abroad to seek other adventures.

From the Straits of Sunda the ships proceeded to the coast of China, there to communicate with Sir George Staunton, chief of the English Factory at Canton, and with other persons destined to accompany the expedition. The Emperor had already been informed of the intention of the Prince Regent to send a mission to the court of Pekin, and his reply was hourly expected. The vessels took in water at Hong Kong, one of the Ladrone Islands, where they awaited the Emperor's answer, which was at length received by an express from the Factory. Full permission was granted by it for the embassy to advance up the coast in the vessels, and land at the port nearest the capital.

Twelve days after quitting Hong Kong, they passed around the promontory of Shantung into the Yellow Sea. As their charts availed them little in these unknown regions, they were obliged to move onward with caution. The water became shallow long before land was discovered, and apprehensions began to be entertained, that the vessels would be stopped by the mud. At one time the Lyra's keel was actually ploughing in this sediment, which was perceived by the yellow color of the water in the wake, and also by the retarded motion of the vessel, and the difficulty of steering. The same thing was observed by Dr Clarke, the traveller, as he passed the mouths of the Nile out of sight of land. In this instance the vessel's wake exhibited a deep black color, and the muddy sediment was so impalpable as to present only a slight resistance. Captain Hall thinks, with apparent good reason, that the tract of water called the Yellow Sea will one day be filled up by these deposits of the rivers that run into it, and that the whole region will become alluvial, like that of Bengal or Egypt.

After a good deal of difficulty the mouth of the river Pei Ho, the destined place of the ambassador's debarkation, was discovered. The water was so shoal as to oblige the squadron to

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anchor eight or ten miles from the shore, and two mandarins, one an officer in the military service, and the other in the civil, came off to pay their respects to Lord Amherst. 'Previously to approaching the ship, two visiting cards were despatched by an inferior officer from these great persons, which were at least a foot and a half in length, and not less than a foot wide. They were made of red colored paper, with the name and title written in a perpendicular line in the centre.' These mandarins were deputed by another of higher authority, to whom the charge was assigned of conducting the embassy through the country to Pekin. At last the ambassador and his attendants landed at Tacoo, a town about a mile above the mouth of the Pei Ho. Here the navigators took leave of the ambassador, whom they did not see again till they met him at Canton five months afterwards, on his return over land from the Chinese capital.

The visiting cards of spacious dimensions, sent by the mandarins to Lord Amherst, remind us of Father Horta's description of the ceremony of visiting among the Tonquinese. The visiting card among that formal people rises to the dignity of a book. When a person pays a visit, he stops at the gate till the porter comes, and then gives him several loose leaves of paper, on which are written in large characters the name of the visiter, his titles, and the purposes of his visit. The common color of these leaves is white with a red cover, but there are other colors varying according to the rank and quality of the person to whom the visit is paid. An invitation card is still more formidable. It consists of several leaves, on the first of which is written the name, address, and titles of the person invited; then follows the invitation; and last of all the bill of fare for the proposed entertainment. Father Horta transcribed a form of invitation on a card which he saw, which ran as follows. '*Chao-ting has prepared a repast of some herbs, cleaned his glasses, and arranged his house, in order that Se-tong may come and recreate him with the charms of his conversation, and the eloquence of his learning; he therefore begs, that he will not deny him that divine pleasure.*' As our voyagers were not invited to an entertainment of this sort by the Chinese, they had no means of knowing the forms adopted on such occasions.

From the Pei Ho the two vessels sailed in different directions, the Alceste steering northward for the purpose of examining the Gulf of Leotung, and the Lyra southward along the

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coast that borders the Gulf of Petchelee. In eleven days they met again at Che-a-tou Bay, and, after refitting, sailed in company to the harbor of Oei-hai-oi, to the eastward of the former port on the coast of Shantung. This place Captain Hall supposes had never before been visited by Europeans, and he speaks of the reception, which they met from the inhabitants, as favorable to the Chinese character. A vast concourse of people gathered round to see the strangers when they landed, and as they proceeded to the village, decorum and civility prevailed everywhere. They were escorted to the neat and elegant mansion of a mandarin, where they were regaled with tea, hot wine, and sweet cakes. They were allowed also to walk through the village, and in its environs.

'By the time this visit of ceremony was over, the mob had dispersed, and we separated into different parties, to stroll about the country, no sort of objection being made to our doing so. I have often remarked that on these occasions, where no harm is intended, and the gratification of curiosity the only object, the best way is to go straight forward, without putting difficulties into the people's heads, by seeming to imagine any permission necessary. At least during this voyage, whenever we began by soliciting leave to walk into the country, or to look at anything, our request was almost invariably refused. It is always easy enough to discover when such a proceeding is really disagreeable or improper; and it seems then full time to turn back.

'The first house we visited, at some distance in the country, was surrounded by a wall or fence, made of neatly wattled twigs. On the steps before the door sat a woman sewing, who as soon as she beheld the apparition of half a dozen strange looking men, screamed out, threw down her work, and in spite of all our attempts to pacify her, continued to alarm the neighborhood with her cries. Among the people who came to her relief was a middle aged man, probably her husband, who, with great roughness, turned us round by the shoulders, marched us out of his grounds, and pointed to the ships. There was no mistaking this, and finding our eloquence only augmented the lady's fury, and the honest man's indignation, we gave up the point, and turned from this uncivil couple towards a party of men and women employed in winnowing corn. This was done on a hard smooth mud floor, raised three feet above the level of the field, near a farm-house. We observed that they first beat the corn with flails, not unlike a watchman's rattle, and then tossed it into the air, that the wind might blow away the chaff. One of the farmers showed me a double drill-plough, and when I expressed some curiosity about these matters,

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he put the plough into my hands, implying that he wished me to keep it. In the course of the evening he brought it on board, but would accept nothing in return. We succeeded in gaining ground much better with this group than with the scolding lady, chiefly by making friends in the first instance of the children, to whom we gave buttons, curtain rings, and such trifles as we had put in our pockets on leaving the ship. This speedily opened a way to the good will of the parents, and as soon as we observed them softening a little in their reserve, we engaged their full attention and respect, by allowing them a peep through the telescope, always an object of great wonder to such people; after this had gone round the circle, we produced the pocket compass, which they stared at with great delight, and a sight of our watches completed the treaty of amity between us.

'While this was going on, a countryman driving a donkey loaded with vegetables, joined the party. We instantly tried to open a traffic with him for his whole cargo, but here an unexpected difficulty arose. He knew so little of our money, that he refused to part with his vegetables in exchange for Spanish dollars, a coin we had always been taught to believe passed current in every corner of the earth. All the trinkets we had brought with us had been already disposed of, and nothing but what was valuable remained; our friend, however, though evidently much amused, and willing enough to sell his cabbages, would give nothing without some equivalent. In this unwonted dilemma, when silver was of no avail, it occurred to me to try the efficacy of a more showy metal, and borrowing the countryman's knife from him, I cut a button from my uniform, then seizing a bundle of leeks in one hand, and displaying the crown and anchor in the other, I appealed to the company whether the bargain was not a fair one. This was irresistible; and I carried my point by acclamation. In this way, by stripping one side of my jacket of its row of finery, and debating the value of each item, I became possessed of the whole cargo. The winnowing party, including several women, and a number of children, had left their work, and assembled round us, listening to this discussion, which I need not say was carried on with much laughing and joking on both sides, although neither party understood a syllable of the other's language. I was a little at a loss what to do with my purchase, for my sole object, in which I completely succeeded, had been to produce good-humor, and I had nobody with me to carry the vegetables. At length, however, I explained to the peasant that I wished them carried to the boat, and although I took no farther charge of him, he delivered them faithfully in the course of the afternoon.' pp. 52–55.

Towards the evening of the same day Captain Hall and Mr

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Clifford crossed over to the opposite side of the harbor, and took a walk for some distance into the country. Pursuing a path leading from the shore, they passed a low ridge of hills, and soon found themselves in a neat little hamlet, at the bottom of a secluded valley, embowered in groves of trees. The villagers flocked around them with much curiosity, and received them with kindness and hospitality. They examined the dress of their visitants, and such articles as they had about them, with expressions of astonishment. The following picture is not more novel in its incidents, than beautiful in its moral, and may well he contemplated with admiration by communities, which boast of a much higher degree of civilization and refinement, than it has been usual to allow to these remote Chinese.

'During the inspection which was instituted into my apparel, I had given to one man my hat, to another my gloves, a third amused himself and the company by opening and shutting my penknife, and in the confusion my watch was passed from hand to hand, till lost sight of altogether. At length these good people were satisfied; and fancying everything was restored, we took our leave as the day was closing. But we left the village by a different path from that by which we had come; and after wandering for some time among the hills, till it became almost dark, returned to the shore. Before stepping into the boat, however, I wished to make a record of the time of tide, and then first discovered that my watch was gone. I had no recollection of the person into whose hands I had given it; and even if I had, was without any means of discovering him. All the stories about the thievish disposition of the Chinese now crowded upon our recollection; and the good opinion we were gradually forming of their character, was shaken to its foundation. The watch, however, was much too valuable to be lost without an effort, and we resolved to return to the village, to give it a chance.

'All was now silent among the cottages, and we wandered about for some time, till attracted by a light at a window, we went up to it, and addressed two people sitting at supper in the room. They were much alarmed at our sudden appearance, pushed us rudely away, and closed the window. This was an unpropitious beginning; but we persevered till, on reaching the court or square near the centre of the village, we fortunately lighted upon a party of eight or ten men, some lying on the ground, others seated on chairs, smoking their pipes, and enjoying the delicious coolness of the evening air, which had succeeded to the burning heat of the day. I was not much in a humor to notice fine grouping or pic-

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turesque effects, but happening to remember the Chinese for watch, Pee-o-i, I repeatedly pronounced it, exhibiting at the same time my empty pockets. The word or the action easily made them comprehend my loss. But as I was under the full conviction all the while that I never should see my watch again, I may probably have expresed some impatience on the occasion. This, however, produced little effect on the Chinese, who merely took their pipes from their mouths, leaned on their elbows, and listened with great attention to all I had to say. When I had finished my speech, which consisted principally of signs, interspersed with occasional mention of the word Pee-o-i, an old gentleman of the party got up, and patting me good-naturedly on the shoulder, gave me his ready-lighted pipe to console me, and with great gravity, in the midst of which I fancied I could sometimes detect an ironical smile when he looked towards his companions, made me a long speech, which, although I could not understand a single word of it, seemed to set forth that it was quite useless to be angry about the matter. The rest of the party laughed heartily at the oddity of this dialogue, and seemed determined to take no steps till the discussion was over. As I saw very soon that there was nothing for it but good-humor—or rather, that nothing was to be gained by impatience, I sat down among them, accepted the orator's pipe, and puffed away as well as the most experienced smoker of the party. I had no sooner been seated on a chair which was brought for me, as they would not suffer me to stretch myself on the ground, than the spokesman of the party, who had just lectured me, as I conjectured, upon the virtue of patience, looking over his shoulder and laughing, spoke a few words to one of the young men seated on the grass near him, who immediately rose and left the party. In about five minutes the messenger returned, bringing along with him another person, who held my watch in his hand; and I now recognised the face of the man I had first given it to. He explained, as I understood him, that as I had left the village by another road (pointing first to the one way, and then to the other) he had quite lost sight of me, but that next day he meant to have brought the watch on board. This I inferred from his pointing to where the sun rose, and then towards the ships. At all events, I was happy enough to recover my lost property, and the first impulse naturally was to give him some reward. I had only a dollar, and two or three smaller coins with me, which I put into the young man's hand; but this was no sooner observed, than two or three of the others jumped on their feet, and taking the money from him, thrust it back again into my pockets. I made him sit down, however, and it will easily be understood that the recovery of the watch was more efficacious in restoring good-humor than the old fellow's lecture had been; and so my sententious friend

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himself seemed to think, for he addressed me with the former affected seriousness of tone and manner, and then laughed heartily as he pointed to the watch. It is wonderful, indeed, how without language, people can generally make themselves mutually understood when there is good will on both sides, and how difficult, even with all the advantages of speech, the most simple explanation becomes, when temper or interest opposes an obstacle to the mutual apprehension of the subject.' pp. 56–59.

As they placed no value in money, Captain Hall tempted their curiosity with other articles, which he would gladly have left with them as a token of his gratitude, but they positively refused to take anything that was offered to them. When the man who restored the watch came on board the Lyra the next day, he still persisted in his refusal of a reward, nor could he be prevailed upon by any inducements to alter his determination. The lower classes at Canton are remarkable for thieving. They have probably acquired the vice by their intercourse with foreigners. Neither the expedition of Lord Macartney, nor that of Lord Amherst, in passing through the country, was annoyed by any propensity of this sort in the inhabitants.

Captain Hall observes, that 'in every village, however small, which he visited in China, there was invariably a school, where both reading and writing were taught to boys.' In the village, where the adventure of the watch occurred, the school was kept by a 'very formal, perpendicular, elderly gentleman.' Speaking of another village, the author says, 'we were attracted by the well known hum to a school, which the master, who came out to the door, begged us to enter. Everything within was remarkably neat and clean, and the room well ventilated; but the day was very hot, and one of the scholars, observing Mr Clifford fanning himself with his hat, left his seat, and presented him with his fan; at the same time, turning round, he gave me his book, opened I suppose at the place of the lesson. The whole school were then ordered to read at once, during which the master appeared to have the faculty of distinguishing any voice which was in error; a mode of teaching, it may be observed, universal from all time over the east, but only recently introduced from that hemisphere into this country, and I believe with much effect.' We hardly understand what our voyager means by the last clause in this sentence; but if he intends to say, that children can be taught to read by this Babel jargon of sounds, uttered simultaneously from every mouth in

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the school, whether in the Chinese or the English idiom, we must beg leave to demur. We have strong doubts, also, of the teacher's ability, under such circumstances, to distinguish every truant voice in the midst of such confusion. To us the predicament of the unlucky pedagogue would seem to be not less embarrassing, than would have been that of the Speaker of the House of Representatives, in deciding who was in order or out of order, who was talking sense or nonsense, had all the members chosen to make their speeches on the retrenchment question at once; and we should as soon expect light to shine on the counsels of the nation's guardians from this mode of debating, as improvement in a school founded on the Chinese model. Captain Hall remarks, that no schools for girls came under his observation in China.

In a few days the ships took up their course across the Yellow Sea to the coast of Corea. Long before they came to the main land they fell in with innumerable clusters of Islands, which were afterwards found to fringe this inner border of the Corean peninsula for a great distance. The voyagers landed at some of these islands, and were led into amusing adventures with the natives, which we shall pass over, and take our readers at once to the harbor on the main land where the vessels at length came to anchor.

'As soon as the ships were secured, Captain Maxwell, Mr Clifford, and I proceeded in one of the Alceste's boats towards a considerable village, or rather town, in the northwestern angle of the bay. On drawing near, it was discovered that the whole population were in a commotion, much resembling the sort of bustle into which a colony of ants are thrown by the thrust of a spade. This sensation extended to a fleet of boats riding at anchor off the town, the crews of which were busily employed weighing anchor, and getting their oars to pass. Before we could reach the landing-place, eight or ten of the largest vessels were seen steering towards us, escorted by more than a hundred canoes and small boats, bustling and paddling along in tumultuous procession. Every boat, even the smallest that had a mast at all, was decked out with long streamers, and crowded almost to sinking with people. On arriving within a couple of boats' lengths of the headmost vessel, our ears were saluted with sounds not unlike those of the bagpipe, which issued from three pipes, or trumpets, played by men raised high in the bow of the boat. In the middle part of the deck, between the masts, we discovered a huge blue umbrella, held by two men over the head of a very important look-

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ing personage, seated cross-legged on a mat, surrounded by attendants in richly colored dresses. The chief himself, for such he was dubbed the moment we beheld him, is worthy of a particular description. His principal garment consisted of a showy robe, or mantle, of blue satin, in whose ample folds he was well nigh lost; in front hung down his venerable white beard, as far as a rich embroidered girdle, confining the robe. On his head was placed a hat of a size in proportion with that of the other parts of his dress; the rim measured not less than three feet, over which rose a very small peaked crown. In his right hand he wielded, with an air of mighty importance, a slender black rod tipped with silver, from which hung at one end a small slip of black crape, and a narrow leather thong was tied to the other end—symbolical, it was thought, of the summary course of justice in Corea. In his left hand he grasped between the thumb and little finger his pipe, trimmed, from time to time by an attendant, stationed for that purpose close to his elbow, who took the tobacco from a silver box carried by a little boy.' pp. 86–88.

'The whole procession, like a royal regatta, now proceeded slowly towards the Lyra, to the sound of the pipes, which began to play the instant the boats went on. Captain Maxwell and I rowed to one side of the brig, while the chief's boat was placed on the other in a very seaman-like style. To get on board was not so easy a matter, and it was all our discipline could accomplish to keep the sailors from laughing at the manner in which the old chief got up the gangway, encumbered as he was with his immense robes. As the evening was fine, we thought it best to entertain our guest on the quarter-deck, instead of inviting him to my little cabin, hardly large enough, as some one observed, to hold the old gentleman's hat. Chairs were accordingly brought up, but the chief seemed to despise these European inventions, and would accept of no accommodation but his own mat. Even to this he at first objected, leaving us completely perplexed to discover his wishes. It has occurred to us since, that the publicity of the conference may have displeased him, and we regretted not having carried him below, however inconvenient the accommodation. At length he sat down, and immediately the whole of his own crew, and the men from about twenty other boats, leaped on board in all directions, to assist at the ceremony. Some of them climbed into the rigging, others established themselves on the poop, and one unbroken line of copper-colored wondering faces was ranged along the hammocks from stem to stern. When every one was seated, silence and something like order was established, and the chief, drawing his pipe from his mouth, and flourishing his wand, commenced an oration which lasted fully

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five minutes. When he had concluded, Captain Maxwell, who had listened with admirable gravity and a look of respectful attention, made a reply in English, not quite so long, but quite as much to the purpose. The chief opened his eyes, stared, listened, and looked round to his attendants, as if to inquire the meaning of all this; but obtaining no satisfaction from the appeal, as they all shook their heads, he called to a person who seemed to be his secretary, and touching him with his rod, made him sit down before him. The secretary took his place with all due formality, and having rubbed his cake of Indian ink upon a neat blue stone, which he carried with him, drew forth his camel-hair brush, and arranging a long scroll of paper on his knees, began, at the chief's dictation, to write a despatch, the by-standers assisting from time to time in the composition of this document, which they no doubt thought was to set all matters right. When completed, the chief looked it over, and then handed it to us. We looked at it too, but were obliged to shrug our shoulders, and signify our ignorance with the best grace we could. The chief was exceedingly provoked, and showed by his gestures and the angry tones of his voice how stupid he thought us.' pp. 89, 90.

To account for the surprise and disappointment of the chief on this occasion, we must consider, that in China, Corea, Japan, and the neighboring islands, the same written language is universally understood, even among persons from different parts, whose conversation is totally unintelligible to each other. The Chinese characters are used for this purpose, and they communicate ideas in the same way as the Arabic numbers, which are understood by all the nations of Europe, notwithstanding the wide dissimilarity of their languages. As this was probably the first time, that the Corean chief had seen persons of so much apparent distinction, as were the officers of the vessels, who could not read the common written characters, he must be supposed to have ascribed so singular a circumstance to their obstinacy in pretending not to understand him, or to their gross ignorance, neither of which could inspire him with very high respect for his visiters. Although puzzled with this result, he soon recovered his good humor, and seemed pleased with what he saw. When he took leave of the Lyra, his boats were seen rowing towards the Alceste, which he reached just as the officers had arrived from the other vessel to receive him.

'It appeared that he had forgotten the fate of his despatch on board the Lyra, or else he wished once more to fathom the depth of

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our ignorance, probably not conceiving it possible that the owner of such a dwelling should be unable to read or write. Whatever his reasons might be, he ordered his secretary to prepare another writing without delay, and as soon as it was examined, handed it with great formality to Captain Maxwell. The original document is now in my possession, as well as the translation, made by the interpreter to the British factory at Canton, which runs thus;

'"Persons, of what land are you?—of what nation? On account of what business do you come hither? In the ship are there any literary men, who thoroughly understand, and can explain what is written?"

'We readily conjectured that something to this purpose must be the import of the writing. Had we known it then, however, as correctly as we do now, the knowledge would have served us little purpose, for we had no means of reply, except indeed to the latter part of the question, which Captain Maxwell answered in a manner certainly the most effectual that could be devised. He did it, however, with so much ceremony, and at the same time such perfect gravity, that it was singularly ludicrous. Having called for his clerk, he proceeded to imitate the chief, and wrote a letter which he presented with a low bow. This despatch was not quite so long as the chief's, and contained simply this; "I do not understand one word that you say."

'The chief, not doubting in the least that he should understand the writing as soon as he looked at it, carefully inspected the paper, and turned it first one way and then another, but all to no purpose. At last he looked towards Captain Maxwell with an inquiring air, and pointed impatiently to the paper. Captain Maxwell took up the chief's letter and did exactly the same, implying an equal degree of ignorance; but it was not till a considerable time had elapsed that the chief saw the similarity of their predicaments, and finally gave up all hopes of communicating by any means but signs.' pp. 94, 95.

While the vessels lay in the harbor, the old chief and many of his people came frequently on board, and were extremely curious in examining everything that could be seen, rummaging even the midshipmen's lockers, the sailors' chests, and invading the cook's premises, taking due cognizance of the tea-kettles, coffee-pots, and other utensils. Some of the chief's retinue were also busy in measuring the Lyra with lines and rulers, noting down particulars respecting the guns, shot, spars, rigging, and whatever else they deemed worthy of observation. They ate and drank on board with much hilarity, accommodating themselves with apparent ease to the English customs, and mutual confidence and cheerfulness

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prevailed. Nothing seemed to discompose the old chief, but the proposition on the part of the officers to land, which was uniformly met with coldness. As all intercourse was carried on by signs, they thought it not expedient to understand everything that was meant to be conveyed on this subject, but resolved to man the boats and row ashore without ceremony.

'As we approached the beach, the old man's distress augmented; and when at length our keel touched the sand, and the bowman, by leaping out to fix the gang-board, actually landed on the forbidden soil, he held up his hands in despair, drooped his wo-begone countenance on one side, and drew his hand repeatedly across his throat, from ear to ear, unequivocally implying, that some one or other must lose his head on the occasion. This was perplexing enough; but as we had now fairly done the deed, and reached the shore, it was thought that without any great aggravation of the offence, we might enjoy the satisfaction of a walk in this unexplored country. Accordingly, we stepped out, followed in very miserable plight by our venerable friend. As it was low water, we had to scramble through sea-weed and wet sand for about fifty yards, before reaching a dry spot, where a halt was made in order, if possible, to console our worthy companion. We tried to signify that our wishes went no farther than to walk about for half an hour, to stretch our limbs stiffened by so long a voyage; after which it was our intention to return on board to dinner. To the latter part of our discourse, which consisted in making the action of eating and pointing to the ships, his only reply was, to repeat the beheading motion with which he had before endeavored, in the boat, to work on our fears or our compassion. "How can I eat with my head off?" was the interpretation suggested by the late Dr M'Leod, a man of infinite jest, as every one knows, who has perused his most amusing narrative. The humorous manner in which this was spoken, made all our party laugh; but our mirth only augmented the chief's distress, and we began seriously to fear that we had proceeded too far.

'The town, however, not being half a mile from the spot where we had landed, our purpose was merely to walk through it, to climb the wooded hill behind, and to return by the top of the ridge to our boats, which were ordered to wait at the beach. Before advancing many paces, however, we were surrounded by upwards of a hundred of the natives, and there was reason to think we might pay more dearly for our curiosity than at first had been reckoned upon. A word from the chief at this instant might have finished our expedition in a trice; but on appealing to him against this interruption, he spoke some words to his body-guard, which consisted of four soldiers armed with bows and

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arrows. The military soon got the better of the populace, by pelting them heartily with stones; thus inverting the usage of more polished communities, where these missiles are the established weapons of the mob.

'The road being now clear, we turned to prosecute our walk, when lo! the old chief was in tears, litterally sobbing like a child, with his head resting on the courtier's shoulder. This was rather too much; for however pitiable and ludicrous it may now seem, it had then a very different character, and all idea of going farther was instantly given up. Every one regretted that matters had been pushed to this extremity, but Captain Maxwell probably more than any other person, as he had been in some degree urged into it, against his better feelings and sounder judgment.' pp. 106–108.

Before dismissing this portion of the author's adventurers, we will give his description of a Corean house, which he examined on one of the islands.

'The door was made to turn on an upright moveable bar, fitted into a cross-beam above, and a hole in the threshold stone below. Before it lay a neat smooth little court, surrounded by a close hedge, of a sweet scented red and white flower, resembling the honeysuckle in shape. On the ground were lying some bundles of corn, and two wooden mortars, with double-handed pestles, for removing the husks. Cooking utensils were ranged along the wall on one side of the door; to the left of the court were several corn stacks. The house was overshadowed by large trees, whose leaf resembled that of the Portugal laurel; and the trunks of these trees and the ends of the house were covered with a thick matting of small-leaved ivy. Nothing within corresponded to the taste and neatness of the exterior. The room, for there was but one, was dark and dirty, the walls and roof being either covered with cobwebs or glazed by the action of wood smoke. The floor was diversified by hill and dale, much in the manner of some cottages which I have seen nearer home, with the appropriate appendage of a lake here and there. The fire-place stood between two large boilers, sunk deep in rude brick-work, the use of which vessels we could not surmise. On the hot embers of the fire lay a couple of fish, one of which, a fine fresh haddock, we took the liberty of helping ourselves to, in the inhospitable absence of the rightful owners. On the wall opposite to this miserable fire-place, were ranged on two shelves a goodly store of coarse crockery, and two or three round shining metal pots and pans. On one of the shelves also stood what seemed two wooden stools, handsomely carved, and varnished with the brilliant lacker used in China. These implements, if we did not mistake their use, certainly ap-

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peared much too fine for the rest of the establishment, and quite out of place standing on a shelf. The roof was of thatch, resting on a network of rods, and the eaves extended more than a yard from the walls, at once affording shade to a narrow verandah in front of the house, and giving shelter to the window from rain—a precaution quite necessary to its existence, as it was composed of oiled paper, pasted over small square openings in a wooden frame. The walls themselves were built of stones and mud, most inartificially put together—a want of neatness and skill which did not apply to the more difficult branch of architecture, the frame-work of the roof, this being constructed precisely on our principles, with a king-post and rafters, very neatly morticed in their proper places.' pp. 115, 116.

Several days were passed in sailing among the clusters of islands mentioned above, till at length the vessels departed from the coast of Corea, and proceeded directly to the Great Loo Choo island. As they approached this island, the Lyra narrowly escaped shipwreck on a coral reef, but, without any other danger, good anchorage was obtained in the Bay of Napakiang, in the southern part of the island. Their first interview with the natives, who came off to them in canoes before they reached Napakiang, was calculated to make a peculiarly favorable impression. 'One of them, the instant he came alongside, handed up a jar of water, and the other put on board a basket of boiled sweet potatoes, without asking or seeming to wish for any recompense. The manners of our new acquaintances were very gentle and respectful; they made a rule of uncovering their heads when in our presence, bowed low whenever they spoke, and, when we gave them something to eat and drink, made a low salam to every person standing near, before they tasted what was given them.' Another party, when a rope was thrown to them from the ship, 'attached a fish to it and paddled away.' These marks of extraordinary kindness at the first acquaintance promised well, and the future conduct of the people fully confirmed the favorable opinion thus formed of them by the navigators.

The earliest account of the Loo Choo islands is derived from a Chinese work, published more than a century ago. In the year 1719 the Emperor Kang-hi sent an ambassador to Loo Choo named Su-poa-koang. On his return to Pekin, the year following, he published in two volumes a particular description of the islands, both in regard to their productions and the history and manners of the people. Such is the report of

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the Jesuit Gaubil. Nothing more was known of Loo Choo, till it was visited by Captain Broughton about thirty years ago. He was a few days in the harbor of Napakiang, but was not permitted to land. No other European had probably visited this people before the present expedition. The island is under the Chinese government.

The ships were hardly anchored when they were surrounded by numerous canoes filled with people, many of whom came directly on board. Among these was a person of higher rank than the rest, who inquired into the motives, which induced the strangers to visit Napakiang, and gave notice that other chiefs of superior rank would shortly come off to the vessels. Luckily he could understand a Chinese servant on board, who acted the part of interpreter, and thus rendered the communication with the people of Loo Choo much more easy and satisfactory, than it had been with the suspicious Coreans. Much curiosity was excited among the inhabitants by the appearance of these new visiters. Canoes were moving rapidly around the harbor, crowds assembled on the beach, and every place suited for observation was occupied by the gazing multitude. An amicable intercourse was immediately established between the chiefs and the commanders of the vessels. Large supplies of provisions were sent to each ship, which were continued from day to day, and for which neither persuasion nor importunity could induce the chiefs to receive anything in return.

'The dress of these interesting persons was singularly graceful and picturesque. It consisted of a loose flowing robe folded over the breast, so as to leave the neck bare; but fastened round the middle by a broad rich belt or girdle of embroidered silk, nearly hid by the overlapping folds of the drapery. The sleeves were so wide that when the arms were crossed in front, the lower part reached nearly to the knees. Each of them wore on his head a yellow cylindrical cap, and on his feet a neatly plaited straw sandal, laced over a short cotton boot or stocking. Two of the chiefs were dressed in light-colored yellow robes, the others in dark blue, streaked with white, all made of cotton. Their caps or turbans were flat at the top, and appeared to be formed by winding a broad band diagonally round a frame in such a manner, that at each turn a small portion of the last fold should be visible above in front, and below at the hinder part. The sandals were bound to the feet by a stiff straw band passing over the instep, and connected with the fore part of the sole by a slender string drawn

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between the great toe and the one next to it, the stocking being oddly enough contrived with a division like the finger of a glove, to receive the great toe. Each chief carried a fan either in his hand or thrust into the girdle, together with a short tobacco-pipe and pouch, enclosed in a small bag dangling at his waist. It seemed to be the fashion of the country not to cut the beard, in the nice arrangement of which they appeared to take particular pride. That of the senior chief was nearly a foot long, while those of the two others, though much shorter, were evidently cherished with great care.' pp. 137, 138.

As in Corea, so at this place, the people of distinction that came on board were extremely curious in examining everything they could lay their eyes on. Although their curiosity was eager, yet their manners were gentle and unassuming, and they were never troublesome or obtrusive. After two or three days had passed in this interchange of kindnesses on board the vessels, Captain Maxwell intimated his intention to land, and pay his respects to the great chief of the island. This proposition at first excited a good deal of alarm, and was met by several evasions on the part of the islanders respecting the character of the great chief, his place of residence, and other particulars calculated to throw obstacles in the way. They said, for instance, that he lived a thousand miles off, although the island was hardly half that extent in its whole length. Sometimes they denied, that there was any such chief, and then they affirmed that the Loo-Chooans were by no means a people of so much consequence as the Captain would make them, and that they were wholly unworthy of the honors he designed. By one artifice of this sort after another, they actually prevented the intended visit to the king, although the vessels remained six weeks in the harbor, and the voyagers were well satisfied that his residence was in sight, shrouded in groves of trees, at a distance of three or four miles.

Permission was granted to land on the beach for the purpose of taking astronomical observations, but the persons who went on shore were carefully watched, and none was permitted to walk into the country. By degrees, however, a little more confidence was inspired, and the sailors were allowed to saunter about under the shade of trees, and to recreate themselves within a limited space. When any one of the officers attempted to extend his walks, he was instantly met by a person in authority, who reminded him of his prescribed bounds, not refraining from gentle force, if admonition did not have its

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proper effect. But as peace and good humor were objects of special consequence to the visiters, they took care to avoid direct occasions of offence, and always yielded to serious alarms and obvious manifestations of displeasure. Partly by stealth, however, and partly by a bold, strait forward manner, some of the officers contrived to stroll about the immediate environs of the landing-place, and to make some discoveries in the domestic economy and rural occupations of the people. Everything indicated contentment, plenty, and happiness, with much good taste in the arrangement of their grounds, and neatness and comfort in the structure, order, and furniture of their dwellings. No women were ever seen during the whole stay of the voyagers in the harbor, except on one or two occasions, and then by accident. It is supposed, that they were sent into the country as soon as the strangers arrived.

We shall here present our readers with Captain Hall's description of a Loo Choo entertainment, to which Captain Maxwell invited himself and his party rather unceremoniously, for however prompt and generous the Loo-Chooans were in sending all kinds of provisions on board, the chiefs had never hinted that it would give them any pleasure to meet their new friends on shore. Captain Maxwell insisted, that he could not any longer deny himself the satisfaction of showing his sense of their unbounded civilities by paying his respects to them in a proper way, and made it known to them that he should land for this purpose. Finding the Captain determined on this point, some preparation seems to have been made for the event, as will appear by the following extract.

'After a good deal of consideration, it was agreed that Captain Maxwell should take with him several dozens of wine, some books, two looking-glasses, various trinkets, and a large piece of blue broad cloth. I took half the quantity of Captain Maxwell's presents. Smaller donations were also made up for each of the chiefs. Thus prepared, we set out at one o'clock in the Ambassador's barge, with a large union-jack flying; and the wind being fair, soon reached the harbor. As we rowed past the shore, the people were seen running along the different roads leading into the town, so that by the time we reached the entrance, the crowd on both sides was immense, and the sight as striking and animated as can well be conceived.

'On our entering the harbor, four or five of the chiefs came down to a point of land, and made signs, by waving their hands, that we must row past the end of a pier or mole, forming the

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inner harbor. By the time we had performed this circuit, the chiefs were ready to receive us at the landing-place. They gave us their hands to help us from the boats, and then conducted us along the shore, Ookooma taking Captain Maxwell's hand, the chief called Shayoon giving me his, and Jeema taking charge of Mr Clifford. The other natives, according to their rank, conducted Dr M'Leod, surgeon of the Alceste, Mr John Maxwell, the commodore's son, and another midshipman, Mr Browne, selected to accompany us on account of his proficiency as a draughtsman. They held our hands nearly as high as the shoulder, and we moved along pretty much in the fashion of a minuet, with a sort of measured step, which made it still more ludicrous. In this manner they carried us through a lane opened for us among silent, gazing crowds of people. The children were, as usual, placed in front, three or four deep, all shining in their best dresses, and looking as happy as possible. The next two or three ranks crouched down, so as just to look over the heads of the children, and in order to allow those behind to see us in passing. By these arrangements many more could obtain a good sight of the strangers, than if they had been crowded indiscriminately together. We were thus paraded slowly along for about a hundred and fifty yards, till we reached the gate of a handsome wooden temple, where we were met by the principal chief, our guest of the preceding day, who stood just outside of the threshold on a small square pavement of polished stones. Ookooma, who had brought Captain Maxwell thus far, now relinquished his office to the old chief, who gave his hand, and showed the way to a small flight of steps leading to the temple, two sides of which were completely thrown open, and the whole skirted by deep verandahs, precautions which rendered the interior shady and cool. The apartment was large, and neatly furnished with gaudy paintings hung round the walls, richly carved wooden cornices and pillars, and everything shining with the brilliant varnish in which the Chinese excel all other nations. In the centre stood a large table, finely japanned, and two ornamental high-backed chairs, one on each side of the chief's seat for Captain Maxwell and me; benches being placed at the sides of the table for the other gentlemen.

'The chief, as soon as the party were all seated, opened the conversation by expressing how much gratified he had been by the reception he had met with the day before, and how glad he was to see us at his table. He then asked our ages, begged to know which of us were married, which single, and expressed himself greatly pleased with the account of Captain Maxwell's family, which happened to correspond exactly as to numbers and age with his own. But he could scarcely be made to believe that young Maxwell, a strapping youth of six feet, was not more than

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sixteen years of age, insisting that he must be at least six-and-twenty. The same mistake was often made by the natives, who judged of the ages of our young men by their height alone. After some time spent in this easy kind of friendly chit-chat, a wine which they called sackee was handed round in very diminutive cups, filled to the brim by one of the chiefs, out of a small metal pot, in which this beverage was kept constantly warm. The chief and his companions, after we had drank, followed our example, and took off their cups fairly; and during the whole feast the sackee pot never left the table, being considered a proper accompaniment to all the strange messes which were brought in one at a time, and handed round by the attendants. When the first dish was placed on the table, a pair of chopsticks was given to each person present, and these were not changed during the feast.

'Chopsticks, it is possibly not generally known, are two polished pieces of ivory or of some hard wood, about a foot in length, and as thick as an ordinary quill. They are used instead of knives and forks in China, and all the countries in that quarter of the world. They are both held in the right hand, one being fixed and the other moveable; so that the meat is caught up, as it were, by a pair of pincers. The middle of that chopstick, which is fixed, rests on the tip of the third finger and its top in the hollow space between the thumb and the knuckle of the fore finger; the moveable one is grasped by the fore and middle fingers and thumb. Until the manner of using these implements is learned, they are perfectly useless; and the chief observing some of us make no advances in acquiring the requisite knowledge, ordered sharp-pointed sticks to be given to us, that we might fork up our meat. As this would not do for rice, however, we resumed the chopsticks, but could make little progress, till we observed how the natives ate it, and even then our imitation was not very successful. They held the bowl in which it was contained close to their mouths as if going to drink, and then by means of the implements described, tumbled or rather stuffed in the rice till their mouths were quite full, sometimes also accelerating its farther progress by the agency of the chopsticks, in a very ludicrous manner.

'The next dish, consisting of slices of fish fried in butter, we found excellent; after this, came smoked pork sliced, and then pig's liver cut into small square pieces and boiled. Then tea was handed round, which was quite new, and not very good in its way, resembling, as our facetious doctor observed, more an infusion of hay than anything else. The short intervals between the numerous courses, were filled up with smoking, our pipes being filled and lighted by an attendant, whose sole business it was to run about with a small bag in his hand, and watch when any one required tobacco, which was not unfrequently, as the pipes were so

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diminutive that some of the gentlemen of our party found no difficulty in smoking nine of them during the feast. The next dish was the oddest thing we had yet seen in the way of eatables, its very appearance disgusting most of the party; it consisted of coarse, very black sugar, wrapped up in unbaked dough, powdered over with rice flour, dyed of a yellow color. This dish was certainly very unpalatable, but most of the others were so good, that we made a hearty dinner long before the feast was over. The succession of dishes, however, continued without intermission, till our goodhumored host, seeing we no longer ate anything, ordered them all away, and then, suiting the action to the word, recommended the sackee by pledging us over and over again.

'By carrying this good example a little too far, the old gentleman's eyes at length began to glisten, the remaining crust of formality fell off, and observing that the room was hot, he requested us to take our hats off, as, till now, according to Loo Choo custom, we had kept them on. The chief, who by this time was quite in a merry mood, seized Dr M'Leod's cocked hat and fixed it on his own head, while the Doctor, who was never slow to profit by a good hint, did the same with the chief's hatchee-matchee, or band turban. The oddity of this transfer fairly overcame the gravity of all present; and excited the rapturous mirth of the chief's sons, two fine little boys, in gaudy dresses and high top-knots of hair, who stood one on each side of his chair during all the entertainment.' pp. 170–175.

We should gladly enter more minutely into Captain Hall's account of this peculiar and interesting people, but we could do little justice to the subject within the limits to which we are necessarily confined. The picture he draws contains a great variety of objects, well selected, and skilfully delineated. Could the Loo-Chooans read his book, they would be ungrateful if they did not accord to him unmingled praise for his favorable opinion of their character and manners; and they would at least allow him the merit of a goodnatured observer, whatever they might think of the freedom with which he speaks of their jealousy and caution. The following is the description of the departure from Loo Choo. It may be premised that Maddra was a person, who had been much on board, was a favorite with every body, and had made considerable progress in the English language during the short space of six weeks.

'At day-break on Sunday, the twenty-seventh of October, 1816, we unmoored; upon which the natives, seeing us take up one of our anchors, naturally thought we were going to sea imme-

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diately, and meant to give them the slip without bidding adieu. This was very far from our intention; but the alarm spread immediately, and brought the chiefs off in a great hurry; not in a body, in their ordinary formal way, but one by one, as they could find separate canoes to paddle them from the shore. Old Jeema, called on board the Lyra on his way to the frigate; he was a good deal agitated, and the tears came into his eyes when I drew a ring from my finger and placed it on his, in exchange for a knife, which he took from his girdle to present to me.

'The other chiefs called alongside on their way to the frigate, but they went on when I told them I was just going to the Alceste myself. In the meantime poor Maddra came on board with the sextant in his hand; he was in such distress that he scarcely knew what he was about. In this distracted state he sat down to breakfast with us, during which he continued lighting his pipe and smoking as fast as he could; instinctively drinking and eating whatever was placed before him. In a little while he recovered his composure in some degree, and asked what books it would be necessary for him to read, in order to understand the use of the sextant; I gave him a nautical almanac, and told him he must understand that in the first instance; he opened it, and attentively looking at the rows of figures for a few minutes, held up his hands in absolute despair, being at last forced to confess it a hopeless business; he then put the sextant into its case, and bade us farewell. Before leaving the Lyra, he gave Mr Clifford his pipe and tobacco-pouch, with a crystal ornament attached to it, saying, as he held them out, "You go Ingeree, you give this to your childs." Mr Clifford gave him a few presents in return, and expressed his anxiety to be always remembered as his friend. Maddra, with great earnestness, and with the tears streaming down his cheeks, placed his hand several times upon his heart, and cried, "Eedooshee, eedooshee!"—My friend, my friend!

'To me he gave a fan, and a large picture of a man looking up at the sun, drawn, he said, by himself, probably in allusion to my usual occupation at the observatory. After he put off in his boat, he stood up and called out several times, "Ingery noo choo sibitty yootusha,"—I shall always remember the English people. When he went to the Alceste, one of the chiefs remarked to him, that he had come on board without his hatchee-matchee, or his state robes, and told him it was not respectful to wait upon Captain Maxwell for the last time, in his ordinary dress; particularly as all the others were in full array. Maddra, who, poor fellow, had been too much concerned about other matters to think of dress, was distressed at this apparent neglect of propriety, and immediately apologized to Captain Maxwell, who took him kindly by the hand, and, giving him a present, told him, he was always much too happy to see him to notice what dress he had on.

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'On going to the Alceste, I found the chiefs seated in the cabin, all looking very disconsolate. We tried in vain to engage them in conversation; but their wonted cheerfulness had quite deserted them; and, indeed, it was natural that they should be so affected, for, unlike their visiters, these simple people could have had little experience of parting scenes.

'I took this opportunity of giving each of the chiefs some trinket, as a farewell present, and they in return gave me their pipes, fans, and knives, as memorials, accompanied by many friendly expressions. Mutual assurances then passed between us, of being long remembered, and the natives rose to take their last leave of us. Ookooma, who, as well as the others, was much agitated, endeavored to say something, but his heart was full, and he could not utter a word. The rest did not attempt to speak; and before they reached their boats, they were all in tears. Maddra, who was the last to quit the ship, cried bitterly as he wrung the hands of his numerous friends, who crowded round him, and loaded him with presents.

'While we were heaving up the anchor, the natives assembled not only in canoes round the ships, but in vast crowds along the neighboring heights; and as we sailed away, they all stood up, and continued waving their fans and handkerchiefs till they could no longer be distinguished.' pp. 275–277.

Among the most extraordinary particulars related by Captain Hall of the Loo-Chooans, is the fact that neither arms nor money of any sort were found in the island, nor any knowledge of either obtained from the inhabitants. Although the travellers saw no evidences of these potent engines so universally used in carrying on the operations of civilized society, it hardly follows that nothing of the kind actually exists. Grosier, probably on the authority of Su-poa-koang's work above mentioned, speaks of their tribunals of war, their manufactories of arms, and their soldiers, which would imply at least that they have at some time known other arts than those of peace. As to money, it is very possible that they have no use for it. Even in China it is comparatively little used. Taxes in that country are for the most part paid in articles of produce, and the salaries of the Emperor's officers are likewise paid in the same, such as grain, silk, and cloth. The first currency in China was in shells, but it is now extended to silver and copper. The silver pieces are exchanged by weight, the copper coin being the only one that passes by stamp. It is common for traders to keep constantly with them small scales for the purpose of weighing silver, and scissors to clip

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pieces of a suitable size. Dollars may perhaps pass as currency in the neighborhood of Canton, where they are brought in such numbers, that the people have learnt their uniform weight, but we have seen that they would not take them in remote provinces.

Captain Hall mentioned to Bonaparte, whom he afterwards visited at St Helena, the circumstance of there being no arms among the Loo-Chooans. 'No arms!' he exclaimed, 'that is to say, no cannons. They have muskets?' 'Not even muskets,' I replied. 'Well, then, lances, or at least bows and arrows?' I told him they had neither one nor the other. 'Nor poignards?' cried he, with increasing vehemence. 'No, none.' 'But,' said Bonaparte, clenching his fist, and raising his voice to a loud pitch, 'but, without arms how do they fight?' Driven to this corner, the Captain could only reply, that they had no wars. '*No wars!*' reïterated the ex-emperor, with an expression of countenance, which showed how little credit he was disposed to give to such a report. He seemed equally incredulous, when he was told the Loo-Chooans had no money.

The two last chapters in Captain Hall's volume, the one on his interview with Bonaparte at St Helena, and the other describing Captain Maxwell's attack on the batteries at Canton, contain entertaining matter, and are written with spirit and vivacity. Indeed we think the author's style uniformly happy, and peculiarly well suited to this species of composition. He is a discriminating observer, his topics are selected with good judgment and good taste, his language is terse, appropriate, and varied; sometimes perhaps a little too much studied, but never stiff nor ponderous. In short, we could hardly name a better model of journal-writing, than the little volume, whose contents we have just been reviewing; and whoever would read for the double purpose of instruction and amusement, will find themselves richly compensated for the time they may give to its perusal.

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ART. X.—*Bericht über die Naturhistorischen Reisen der Herren Ehrenberg und Hemprich, durch Aegypten, Dongola, Syrien, Arabien, und den östlichen Abfall des Habessinian Hochlandes, in den Jahren* 1820—1825. Gelesen in der Königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, von Alexander von Humboldt. Berlin. Gedruckt in der Druckerei der Königlichen Academie der Wissenschaften. 1826.

Report of the Researches in various Branches of Natural History made by Messrs Ehrenberg and Hemprich, on their Travels through Egypt, Dongola, Syria, Arabia, and the Eastern Slope of the Abyssinian Highlands in the Years 1820–1825. Read before the Royal Academy of Sciences, by Alexander Von Humboldt. Berlin; printed at the press of the Royal Academy of Sciences, 1826.

THERE is perhaps no department of knowledge, in which the difference between the ancient and modern literature is more apparent, than that, with which the work just named is connected,—we mean the department of Voyages and Travels. The *literature of travels* (if we may be allowed so to speak) can scarcely be said to have had any existence in ancient days. Travelling, indeed, was then, for the most part, a difficult, and even a dangerous business. We have only to recollect, that the Roman word, *hostis*, means *stranger* and *enemy*, and it will be easy to believe what has now been stated. The character of the Romans was indeed, in this respect, more exclusive than that of the Greeks, who, at some periods of their history, were great travellers. They however divided mankind into Greek and Barbarian, and although the polite Athenian made a distinction between ἐχθρὸς and παρεπίδημος, yet he acknowledged no standard of civilization but his own. As stranger and enemy were synonymous to the Romans, so ἀλλόφυλος is employed by the Seventy to designate a Philistine, or any heathen enemy of the Jews.

The difference between ancient and modern times, in regard to books of travels, is felt at once when we ask the question, Where in Greek, Roman, Egyptian, ancient Arabian, or other ancient literature, is there any work of this nature to be found? Not that there were no scientific travellers, in ancient times. We know the contrary to be true. But the result of their

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journeys was embodied in other forms, than that of an itinerary. Solon composed no book of travels. Herodotus visited Egypt, Syria, and Persia, for the sake of making historical inquiries; and the result of these he has embodied in his history. Other ancient historians and antiquaries did the same. Ancient philosophers, lawgivers, geographers, poets, biographers, and letter-writers, have also left us many monuments of their personal acquaintance with nations and countries foreign to their own. Still there is no work, descending to us from antiquity, which has any near resemblance to the itineraries of the present time.

There is, indeed, a book called the 'Itinerary of Antonine,' drawn up by order of Antoninus Pius, the Roman emperor, which was designed to show all the great roads in the empire, and all the stations of the Roman army. In its present form this work is very defective, having probably suffered much in the hands of copyists. At best, too, it appears to have been only a kind of 'travelling register'; amounting to little more than an official report of military posts, and the distances between them.

The first work among the Arabians, which seems to approach very nearly to the shape of more modern Travels, appears to be that composed by Abdollatif, about the year 1200. Before this time, geographical works, the result of travels and observations, had been composed by Arabian authors. Such was that of Ibn Haukal, who wrote, in the latter half of the tenth century, a kind of universal geography. A similar work was composed by Edrisi, in the twelfth century. But Abdollatif visited Egypt in person, resided there for a length of time, and, during his abode in that country, composed 'Histories and profitable Remarks on things which he had seen in Egypt, and on the occurrences which he had there witnessed.' The work contains valuable observations on the physical condition of that country, and of its inhabitants, and also respecting its antiquities. It has been translated into Latin by Professor White of Oxford, and into German by Professor Wahl of Halle.

Many other geographers and historians, of particular countries, appeared in the Arabic not long after the time of Abdollatif; but none of them, for some time, came so near as he, to the modern method of writing travels.

Something of the same feeling, which roused the nations of

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Europe to vie with each other, in the toils and sufferings of the crusades, appears to have given birth to the literature of travels, in its more appropriate shape. The superstition which had, for a long time, attached such high estimation and reverence to the relics, which were said to have come from the Holy Land, and which were borne in solemn procession through all the great cities and large towns of Europe, as objects entitled to a species of adoration; this same superstition would, of course, regard Palestine itself as an object of the most intense interest, and would create an ardent desire to gain all the knowledge respecting it, which could be had. It was to gratify this curiosity, that some of the pilgrims to the Holy Land, who belonged to the company that made the first crusade, undertook to describe the events which occurred during their journey, and the objects which they found in Palestine. Ruperti, a monk of Bergen, who marched with the army of Godfrey of Bouillon, was the first, we believe, who composed such a narration. Every successive crusade gave occasion to new ones, of a similar nature. Not long after the art of printing came to be in general use, books of this kind had become so numerous, and were in so great demand, that a kind of *Corpus* of them was published by Sigmund Feyerabend, in one considerable volume, printed in the year 1583. As this edition was soon sold off, and as it did not comprise all the works of the same nature which might have been included, Nicolaus Noth, of Frankfort on the Mayne, republished it with additions, in two folio volumes, in the year 1609. This collection embraced twenty-one Itineraries, beginning with that of Ruperti mentioned above, and ending with that of John Schwallart (Zuallart), a native of the Netherlands. A number of these Itineraries were composed in Latin, French, and various other languages of Europe; which were all translated (some of them very poorly) into the German, and printed by Noth in this language. To the whole collection thus made, was given the name of *Reissbuch des heiliges Landes*, that is, 'Itinerary of the Holy Land.'

Similar to this work, in manner and spirit, is another collection, entitled *Voyages faits principalement en Asie, dans les XII., XIII., XIV., et XV. siècles, par Benjamin de Tudèle, Jean du Plan Carpin, &c.; par Pierre Bergeron, Haag*, 1735. 2 tom. folio. The greatest curiosity in this book (and it is indeed a singular production) is the famous 'Itinerary'

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of Benjamin of Tudela, a Jew, and a native of the province of Navarre. He set out on his journey in the year 1160, and travelled by land to Constantinople. Thence he proceeded through the countries north of the Euxine and Caspian seas, as far as Chinese Tartary. Thence he went to farther India, traversed various provinces in that region, embarked on the Indian Ocean, visited several of its islands, and thence returned to Europe, by the way of Egypt, after an absence of thirteen years. He died in 1173. His Itinerary was composed in Hebrew, and printed in that language, first at Constantinople, in 1543; next, at Ferrara, in 1556; and lastly at Breisgau, in 1583. A Latin translation of it was made by Arias Montanus, and published at Antwerp in 1575. Another Latin translation of it, with the corresponding columns of the original Hebrew, was published at Leyden, in small octavo, in the year 1633, by Constantine L' Empereur, professor of Hebrew at the University in that city.

In the article devoted to Benjamin of Tudela in Rees's Cyclopædia, the edition of his work published by the rabbis of Constantinople, is absurdly represented as containing the Latin version of the Benedictine Montanus; while it is still more ridiculously stated, in reference to the other translation, that 'Benjamin's book was translated by the emperor Constantine!' A pretty fair specimen this of Cyclopædia learning.

About a century after L' Empereur's edition of the work of Benjamin (1633), it met with a most singular editor in the person of John Philip Baratier, born at Schwabach in Nuremberg, in 1721. He is said to have understood the Greek, Latin, German, and French languages, when he was five years old. At the age of nine, he could translate the Hebrew language into the Latin or French; and the Latin and French into the Hebrew. He could repeat the whole book of Psalms in Hebrew, *memoriter*, at the same age; and when he was ten, he is represented as having composed a Lexicon of rare and difficult words, with curious critical remarks. At this age he joined the University of Altdorf, and addressed a letter, in French, to M. Le Maître, minister of the French church at Schwabach, respecting a new edition of the Bible, in Hebrew, Chaldee, and Rabbinic; which letter is preserved in volume twenty-sixth of the 'Bibliothèque Germanique.' At the age of thirteen, he published his version of Benjamin's Itinerary, in French, entitled 'Voyages de Rabbi Benjamin,' &c., 2 vols.

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Amsterdam, 1734. It is allowed, by all competent judges, that he has corrected many errors of the veteran Hebraists, Montanus and L'Empereur; and besides this, he has added many notes and dissertations, which exhibit a high degree of critical skill and accuracy, and a profound and extensive knowledge. His notes seem to have been the first thing which destroyed the credit of the Rabbi's Itinerary, showing that it was filled with the most senseless fables, and that it abounded in the most obvious mistakes respecting the relative distances of places, and other things of the like nature. This was the downfall of the book; which after having gone through three Hebrew and two Latin editions, and circulated widely over Europe, and been greatly honored and much credited among learned men, came to its end by the fatal attack of a child of thirteen years of age.

Sed manum de tabulâ. We must proceed on our way. We do not intend to write a Bibliotheca of Travels; certainly not a *general* one; and with regard to the countries of hither Asia, with the adjacent ones on the continents of Africa and Europe, we shall only glance at some of the Travels, which give the most credible and valuable accounts of them. These countries are connected so intimately with the writings of classical authors, both sacred and profane, that no lover of literature can help feeling a deep interest in them, and a corresponding desire to know what are the best sources from which he can draw his knowledge. The work, too, which is announced at the head of this article, naturally leads us to dwell for a few moments, on those which have preceded it.

Ten years after the work of Rabbi Benjamin was printed, namely, in 1558, Pierre B. du Mans published, at Paris, *Les Observations de plusieurs Singularités et Choses Mémorables, trouvées en Grèce, Asie, Judée, Egypte, Arabie, et autres Pays Estranges.*' This author was distinguished as a learned and accurate naturalist; and his work may be considered as one of the first, which bore any considerable resemblance to the form which accounts of Travels have since assumed in the hands of the great masters in this branch of science. The principal design of the writer was to describe natural objects. Manners and customs, civil, social, and domestic regulations and arrangements, are merely secondary with him, although he does not neglect them. So valuable is this work, that Professor Paulus of Heidelburg, in his ' Collec-

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tion of Travels,' has printed copious extracts from it, accompanied with the annotations of a naturalist. The author was murdered in the forest of Boulogne, in 1564.

In 1583, was published in Neuburg of Bavaria, Leonharti Rauwolf's *Beschreibung der Raiss* [Reise] *in die Morgenländer, fürnehmlich Syriam, Judæam, Arabiam, Mesopotamiam, Babyloniam, Assyriam, Armeniam, etc.* The author was a physician by profession, and so careful and accurate an observer of men and manners, that his book has continued in use down to the present time.

A useful book was published in 1614, at Antwerp, by N. C. Radzivill, entitled *Jerosolymitana Peregrinatio Illustrissimi Principis, Nicolai Christophori Radzivili.* In 1619, appeared also at Antwerp, one of the most useful of all the old works of this nature, and indeed, a master-piece for the time in which it was written. It was entitled *Itinerarium Hierosolymitanum et Syriacum, a Joanne Cotovico, J. V. D. et Milite Hierosolymitano.* 'From this work,' says Lüdeke in his 'History of the Turkish Empire,' 'much has been extracted by authors, without giving credit for it.'

But a greater work appeared in 1658–1663, in four volumes, quarto, by *Pietro della Valle*, a most learned and interesting man and author. He was a Roman nobleman, and published his work in Italian. He commenced travelling in 1614, went through Egypt, Turkey, Persia, India, etc., and in 1626 returned to Rome, where his work was composed, and printed some thirty years afterwards. One of the first geniuses of this age (Göthe, in the *Divan*) has given us a delightful sketch of the life of Della Valle. In the conclusion of it he says (as a kind of apology for dwelling on this subject), 'It may be proper to remark, that every one is prone to give the preference to that way, in which he has himself attained to a knowledge of anything; and also to introduce others to it, and initiate them into it. With this intention, have I given a particular description of Pietro della Valle, because he was the traveller, by whom the peculiarities of the East were first made known to me in the clearest manner; and to my partiality it appears, that by means of his representations, I first gained some ground which was appropriate to my *Divan*. I could wish this might serve to excite others, at the present time (which abounds so much in sheets and pamphlets), to read through a folio, by which they might come to a definite knowledge of an important

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part of the world, one which in the latest books of travels is superficially changed, but which remains essentially the same as it appeared to our distinguished traveller, at the time when he wrote.' We have only to add, that Della Valle was the first man, in modern times, who made known the Samaritans to the European world. It was he who procured, at Damascus, in 1616, the first copy of the Samaritan Pentateuch that came to Europe. Della Valle purchased it for the French consul, De Sancy, afterwards bishop of St Malo, who presented it to the Fathers of the Oratory, at Paris; and there it was published by Morin, and became the ground-text of all succeeding editions of the Samaritan Pentateuch.

In 1647, appeared at Schlesswig, the *Travels of A. Olearius*, in German. He was a counsellor in the suite of the embassy, which Frederic the Third, duke of Schlesswig and Holstein, sent through Muscovy, to the court of Persia. His work is among the best of those which respect the countries travelled by the embassy.

In 1676, J. B. Tavernier, baron of Aubonne, published his *Six Voyages en Turquie, en Perse, et aux Indes, faits pendant l'espace de quarante ans.* These *Voyages* he made in the capacity of a jewel-merchant; in which character he gained access to all classes of people. His long continued intercourse with the East gave him the best opportunities for accurate information. His work has had great credit, and been often reprinted.

In 1686, Sir John Chardin, by birth a Frenchman, published, at London, an abridged edition of his Travels; and more fully afterwards, in 1711, at Amsterdam, in three volumes quarto, and in ten volumes duodecimo. Chardin, also, visited Persia and other parts of the East, in the quality of a jewel-merchant, and gained access to all classes of people. So great is the worth of his work, that it has been lately republished at Paris, by L. Langlès, member of the National Institute, Professor of Persian, etc., in ten volumes octavo, with maps and plates. The title is, *Voyages du Chevalier Chardin, en Perse, et autres Lieux de l'Orient, etc.* Descendants of Sir John Chardin were among the French Huguenot emigrants to this country.

Laurent d'Arvieux, long conversant with the East, and for many years French consul at Aleppo, left behind him papers, at his death, which happened in 1702, that were afterwards

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published by order of Lewis the Fourteenth, in 1717, at Paris, by M. de la Roque. His account of the Bedouin Arabs, in particular, has been generally regarded as the best which has been given. It was translated into German, and republished in 1789, by E. F. K. Rosenmueller, at Leipzig. The largest and best edition of D'Arvieux is that published at Paris, in 1735, in eight volumes octavo, entitled *Mémoires du Chevalier D'Arvieux, contenant ses Voyages, &c.*'

A useful work, with special reference to places named in the Bible, is that of Franz Ferdinand Von Troilo, entitled *Orientalische Reise-Beschreibung*, printed at Dresden in 1677, and several times repeated. The author was four years in the East.

In 1665, was published at Paris, *Relation d'un Voyage fait au Levant, etc., par. Mr de Thevenot;* and in 1674 and 1684, additions to the above work. Of this work, Rosenmueller, the present eminent Professor of Oriental Literature at Leipzig, says, 'The notices are altogether simple and artless, and show a good talent at observation, as well as sound judgment. The work deserves to be better esteemed, than it has been of late.'

One of the most useful of all the *Thesauri* of Oriental Travels, is the work of Engelbert Kaempfer, Lemgo, 1712, entitled *Amœnitatum Exoticarum Politico-physico-medicarum Fasciculi V., quibus continentur variæ Relationes, Observationes, Descriptiones, etc.* He was secretary to the Swedish legation in the East, where, during a residence of ten years, he had an excellent opportunity to make himself acquainted with the subject on which he has written, in its various branches.

Maundrell's '*Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem*,' contains useful things, in respect to both the antiquities and the geography of the sacred Scriptures. Maundrell was chaplain of the English factory at Aleppo, where, of course, he enjoyed distinguished opportunities for observation; but his work is on the whole but meagre.

We pass over Paul Lucas' *Voyage au Levant*, 1705, more splendid than solid; and also over a volume of Travels by Nyenburg and Heyman, 1757, 1758, a work valuable, we believe, for those who can use it; but existing, as yet, only in the Dutch language. Tournefort's *Relation d'un voyage au Levant, etc.*, Paris, 1717, and often reprinted, is one of the richest works of his times, for comparative geography, and for the science of botany.

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One of the most important of all the books of travels, which have reference to the East, is that published by Dr Thomas Shaw, in 1738, with a Supplement, in 1746. It is entitled *Travels or Observations relating to several Parts of Barbary and the Levant, &c.* Shaw was born at Kendall, in Westmoreland, in 1692, and was educated at the University of Oxford. At the age of twenty-seven he took orders, and was appointed chaplain to the English factory at Algiers. During a residence there of twelve years, he made various excursions, for literary and scientific purposes, into Barbary, Egypt, Syria, and the Levant. He was possessed of great learning, of sound judgment, and of the power to an uncommon degree of acute and discriminating observation. His work is not disposed in the usual method of a journal, but arranged systematically, according to the nature of the subjects treated. It is a rich treasure of geographical, physical, and antiquarian knowledge; most of it referring, more or less directly, to the sacred Scriptures. In 1733, the author returned to England; and in 1740, he was appointed Principal of Edmund Hall, at Oxford; and afterwards Regius Professor of Greek. He died in 1751. His 'Travels' have been often reprinted; and they deserve a new edition, at the present time, being of unspeakably more value than a great part of the superficial works, which pour like a flood from the presses of the present day.

The *Travels* of Charles Thompson, into various countries of the East, printed in 1744; and Mr Otter's *Voyage en Turquie et en Perse*, printed at Paris in 1748, are not worthy of very special notice. Of a far different character is the great work of Richard Pococke, published at London, 1743–1745, in three volumes folio, and entitled *Observations on Egypt, Palestine, the Holy Land, Syria, Mesopotamia, and Cyprus.* Pococke was a proficient in the knowledge of the classics and of antiquities; and his work has generally been regarded as one of the most important of all those which have respect to the East. It has been often reprinted, and many editions of it have been published in the German language. After all, however, it is not so much to be relied on as the work of Shaw. The author was in the East less than half the period of time that Shaw resided there. Pococke very often relates what others told him, and what he believed upon their credit; and not unfrequently, as Michaelis has said, 'one must distinguish between Pococke the eye-witness, and Pococke who heard the

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story of others.' And the difficulty is, that the author has written in such a way, that oftentimes this distinction is not easily made. Pococke made some severe criticisms on the work of Shaw abovementioned; but the latter triumphantly vindicated himself, in the supplementary volume of 1746. Richard Pococke, the traveller, is not to be confounded (as he often has been) with the great Orientalist, Edward Pococke, first Professor of Arabic at Oxford, who resided six years at Aleppo, was worthy of a place among the most distinguished scholars of any age, and lived nearly a century earlier than our traveller.

In 1752, the work of F. L. Norden, entitled *Voyage d'Egypte et de Nubie*, was printed in two volumes folio, at Copenhagen, under the patronage of Christian the Sixth, King of Denmark; which was translated into English, and published at London, 1757; and republished, in the original, by L. Langlès, at Paris, in 1795, in three volumes quarto, with maps, plates, copious notes, and a full index.

Alexander Russell, in 1756, published *The Natural History of Aleppo, &c.* He was a physician to the English factory at Aleppo, for eleven years; and his remarks exhibit a minute and thorough knowledge of the plants, animals, climate, diseases, &c. of that oriental region. The book has been often printed in England and in Germany.

But the greatest naturalist, of former days, who travelled in the East, still remains to be mentioned. This was Frederic Hasselquist, a pupil and friend of Linnæus. Hasselquist was a member of the Academy of Sciences of Stockholm and Upsala, and visited Palestine, during the years 1749–1752. He died at Smyrna, on his return from that country, in 1752; and his *Iter Palestinum* was drawn up by Linnæus himself, from the notes of Hasselquist, and by order of the queen of Sweden. The work extends to Egypt, as well as to Palestine, and remains, to the present time, one of the most distinguished of all the works which respect natural science, in regard to the East.

We pass by the less important productions of Ives, 1773; of G. Mariti, 1768; and of G. Höst, 1781; for the sake of touching more at large upon the noble work of C. Niebuhr, first published in 1772 at Copenhagen, entitled *Beschreibung von Arabien;* and at Paris, in 1779, with the title, *Description de l'Arabie*, which is one of the best editions of the work. The expedition to which Niebuhr was attached, so much re-

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sembled that of Professors Ehrenberg and Hemprich, an account of which we have proposed to give, that it will not here be inappropriate to dwell a few moments upon it.

Michaelis, of Göttingen, was really the original author of this famous expedition. He wrote to Count Bernstorff, one of the most intelligent and energetic of the king of Denmark's ministers, and urged him to persuade the king to fit out a literary expedition to Arabia, for the mere purpose of promoting a knowledge of the East. Bernstorff, following the suggestions of his friend at Göttingen, persuaded Frederic to engage in this undertaking. Five distinguished men were nominated, for this purpose. F. C. von Haven was to take charge of the department of languages; Peter Forskal, of natural history; C. C. Cramer, of medical science, with special regard to medicinal plants; Carsten Niebuhr, of astronomy and geography; and G. G. Baurenfeind was to superintend the drawings necessary for illustration. This important mission embarked at Copenhagen, January 4th, 1761, but did not arrive at Mocha, in Yemen of Arabia, until the end of December, 1762. Here, in about five months, Von Haven died; in two months more, Forskall deceased at Yerim, a village of Yemen; in another month, Baurenfeind fell a sacrifice to disease, at the island of Socotra, on his way to Bombay; and about six months after this, Cramer also died at Bombay.

Niebuhr, thus left alone, was not discouraged from his undertaking. He spent ten years in the East, principally in Arabia, and then, on his return, published not only the work which has been mentioned above, but also *Descriptiones Animalium, Avium, Amphibiorum, Piscium, Insectorum, Vermium, quæ in itinere Orientali observavit Petrus Forskal*, taken from the notes of this skilful naturalist. To this was subjoined, from the same source, a botanical work, *Flora Egyptiaco-Arabica;* both printed at Copenhagen, in 1775.

Michaelis, at whose suggestion, as we have observed, this literary expedition had been sent out, drew up, for the sake of assisting their inquiries, a great number of questions, pertaining to various departments of literature and science, but especially to philology; which were published in an octavo volume, at Frankfort on the Mayne, in 1762, and forwarded to Niebuhr by the Swedish minister; a book, which does no less honor to his memory, than the mission itself does to Frederic the Fifth, who sent it out, and to Christian the Seventh, his successor,

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who, after the death of Frederic, continued to support and cherish it.

The fruits of this expedition have been lasting. Niebuhr has been regarded, by all competent judges, as one of the most sober, judicious, authentic, and instructive of all the travellers whose works have appeared for the last half century. His work is a kind of classic, in respect to the countries of which it treats. The notes of his friend Forskal, are also regarded as one of the most scientific and authentic sources of natural knowledge, in respect to the East.

The later Travels into the East are so well known, that we shall do nothing more than advert to them, in the briefest manner; and this, only in respect to a few of the more valuable. Bruce's 'Travels in Egypt and Abyssinia' came out with a brilliant reputation; then declined almost to the ranks of romance; and are now rising again in credit. Eyles Irwin, Sonnini, C. F. Volney, W. G. Browne, G. H. Olivier, E. D. Clarke, F. A. Chateaubriand, F. J. Mayeaux, J. H. Mayr, and T. R. Joliffe, have all published works of value, the result of their travels in the East. The most splendid work of this nature ever published, and which is not likely soon to have a rival, is the *Description de l'Egypte*, begun under Bonaparte, and completed by the present government of France. In the expedition to Egypt, undertaken by Napoleon, were included a large company of learned men, in various departments of the arts and sciences. Their stay was short in Egypt; but, while there, they were exceedingly active, and the result of their labors has been published in the imperial work just designated. A commission was named by Bonaparte to superintend its publication; the members of which were Berthollet, Conté, Costaz, Degenettes, Fourier, Girard, Lancret, and Monge. Conté and Lancret died, during the publication; and in their room were named Jomard and Jollois; to whom were also added Delile and Devilliers. The work consists of nine volumes, each of the size of three folios, made up of plates; five volumes for the antiquities; two volumes illustrative of the present state of Egypt, and two for natural history. The Atlas consists of fifty sheets. The plates and atlas are accompanied with appropriate *Explications des Planches*, *Descriptions*, and *Mémoires*. The whole costs above one thousand dollars. A copy of this most magnificent work has been presented to the library of Harvard University,

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by one of her liberal and public-spirited *alumni*, of whom she can truly boast that she has very many. A cheaper edition of this work (in which, we believe, the same plates have been employed) has been published, at Paris, since 1821, by the bookseller Mr Pancoucke. Public libraries may afford to purchase this. The text of this edition is printed in octavo, so as to be convenient for reading. Of this great work, we propose at some future period to submit to our readers a more detailed account.

In 1803, U. J. Seezen commenced a journey to the East, and explored Syria, the Dead Sea, and parts of Arabia. He was murdered by the wild Arabs in 1811. The letters of this distinguished traveller, respecting the Jordan and the Dead Sea, were published by Baron de Zach, in his *Monatlichen Correspondenz* of 1808.

Very distinguished works in the department with which we are now concerned, are those of James Morier, particularly, his *Second Journey through Persia, &c.*; of Sir W. Ouseley, Secretary to the Persian embassy, under Sir G. Ouseley; of J. L. Burckhardt, published after his death by the Association for promoting discoveries, &c. in England, and translated by Gesenius into the German language. Robert Ker Porter has also published a very valuable work on Georgia, Persia, Armenia, &c. Other works by Hamilton, Legh, and M. A. Scholz, professor of theology at Bonn, deserve very respectful mention.

With these brief preliminary notices of preceding works in this department, we now proceed to that immediately before us.

Messrs Ehrenberg and Hemprich were sent upon their literary and scientific expedition at the expense, originally, of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Berlin; but afterwards were supported by the King of Prussia. After the return of the surviving member of this expedition, Dr Ehrenberg, from his travels, the Academy appointed a committee of distinguished members of their body, to make report of what had been accomplished by their literary missionaries. The members of this committee, were Alexander von Humboldt, and Messrs Link, Lichtenstein, Rudolphi, and Weiss. Their report was read before the Academy, by Von Humboldt, the chairman of the committee, on the thirteenth of November, 1826. It presents a very interesting and scientific view, of what had been accomplished by their mission. We proceed to lay the

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substance of it before the public; sometimes merely translating the language of the Report itself; but, for the most part, following the train of thought which it presents, and investing it with our own language, but in an abridged and condensed form.

The Report commences with some very just and sensible remarks on the important influence, which the sciences have upon each other, and the beneficial influence upon the whole, which results from the enlargement of any one of them. The tenor of these remarks is as follows.

'Every accession to collections of objects, for the purposes of science, produces an animating influence on the enlargement of human knowledge. It would be a distinguished service, for the purpose of such enlargement, if any one, by long continuance in performing distant and dangerous journeys, should discover a great number of new natural substances; should preserve them in good condition, and cause them to be transported to Europe. But the merit of this service is greatly enhanced, if men, who are sent out at the public expense, furnished with distinguished preparatory knowledge, and deeply penetrated with a feeling of their high scientific calling, exhibit themselves not only as collecting, with restless diligence, materials for the advancement of science, but at the same time, as profound and philosophic observers of nature.

'Everything which relates to a geographical distribution of the forms of animals and plants; to the influence which the condition of the soil, the height of situation, and the various gradations of climate, exercise over organic life, can be investigated only by the immediate inspection of travellers upon the spot. The customary habits of animals are not less important, than the knowledge of their formation, which determines those habits. A great number of the nicest anatomical and physiological observations, can be made only upon the spot. The geognostic knowledge of the earth will not be really advanced, by sending specimens of minerals, which are merely broken off in isolated pieces, without any principle for a guide, and without regard to the manner in which they are grouped in particular species of rock, or their relative predominance, or their transition into one another, or the sequel of their respective ages. It is only the nice observer, who can truly aid the advances of geological knowledge. A science, the essential characteristic of which is, a representation of the connexion which exists among phenomena, and the thorough investigation of the relations of heterogeneous masses of fossils, can never be promoted, even by the most active efforts of mere col-

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lectors without science; at least, not in any such measure as it may be, by those who are capable of accurately observing and describing. Nor will it be aided by such efforts so much, in proportion, as the sciences of zoölogy and botany.

'Messrs Ehrenberg and Hemprich, to the choice of whom this Academy was led by their many distinguished works that had already been published, have, in the happiest manner, answered all the demands which could be made upon them, as learned travellers, even in the present improved state of knowledge. The simple relation of what they have actually done, is the best proof of this. They have made collections, as though it had been their sole object to make them. They have labored also for the preparation, preservation, and specific naming of the objects discovered, in such a manner as, perhaps, no other travellers ever did. The specimens sent to the Royal Museum, filled one hundred and fourteen boxes each from twenty to thirty cubic feet in size. The collective number of individual plants amounts to more than forty-six thousand; and of these there are two thousand nine hundred species. The collective number of animals amounts to thirty-four thousand individuals, of which there are one hundred and thirty-five species of mammalia, four hundred and thirty kinds of birds, five hundred and forty-six species of fishes and amphibia, six hundred kinds of annelidæ and crustacea, and two thousand species of insects. The Royal Collection of Minerals is augmented by three hundred specimens of fossils, arranged according to their condition and super-position, which spreads much light over the internal formation of the earth, in remote lands, that have not hitherto been geologically investigated. But all these collections of minerals, of phanerogamous and cryptogamous plants (the first class only of which comprises five or six hundred kinds hitherto unknown), and of the exterior forms of animals of all classes, especially of the lower, which have for the most part been hitherto neglected by travellers, however important they may be for the Royal Collection, and however much the free use of them may enlarge the boundaries and facilitate the knowledge of natural science, still, they are all of secondary importance, compared with the gain which will accrue to it, from the publication of the observations themselves, made and arranged by Messrs Ehrenberg and Hemprich.

'An investigation of nature, in all the variety of her productions, and the coöperation of her powers, was the essential object of the expedition, of the fruits of which we now make a report to the Academy. Travels for the purposes of geographical discovery, like those of Mungo Park, Burckhardt, Caillaud, and Clapperton, are of a different character, and answer claims of another kind. By a careful separation of the different objects,

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which both the kinds of travels have respectively in view, your committee will place the subject in such a light, that a correct judgment may be formed of what has been accomplished. To force one's way into the interior of a yet unexplored country; to investigate the connexion of streams before unknown, or the separation of them; to discover towns, rich in population and in trade, which are quite unlooked-for evidences of the advance of human improvement, promises, by good right, a fame to the discoverer, which is scarcely excelled by any other, that results from the exhibition of courage and resolution, Geographical expeditions (we do not refer to such as slowly and almost imperceptibly, by means of astronomical observations, enlarge or correct our knowledge of the definite situation of places and countries, but to those which suddenly resolve some problem of long standing and great curiosity) excite, almost every where, a deep interest, which quickly diffuses itself widely abroad; nay, popular language even limits the word *discoveries*, to the results of undertakings purely geographical.

'This partial view of what needs more thorough investigation, would ill become those who ought, with a lively acknowledgement of the mutual influence of the various branches of human knowledge upon each other, to comprehend, in one view, the knowledge of nature and of different countries, in all its parts. Deeper investigation of the internal life of plants and animals; the discovery of organic forms, which serve, as middle links, to connect groups that otherwise would appear remote and isolated; and an enlarged knowledge of the connexion of meteorological phenomena, or of the play of the ever active magnetico-electrical powers of nature; certainly do not confer less honor upon the intellect of man, as to its most strenuous exertions, than geographical discoveries; or than the determination of relative distances, with which descriptive geography is concerned. A right estimation of the bold and rapid traveller, Mungo Park, would surely not tax him with a fault, because his first journeys afforded no botanical or zoölogical results. As little ought we to demand of excursions for the sake of mere natural science, that they should put on the splendor of geographical discoveries. Every class of travels has a character appropriate to itself. The meed of praise belongs to those travellers, who have accomplished what was proposed to be accomplished.

'We have deemed it proper to preface our report respecting the travels of Messrs Ehrenberg and Hemprich, with these general considerations, in order to turn the attention of the Academy to that which distinguishes this important undertaking, supported and encouraged by them, from other travels in Africa. The variety of objects on which our naturalists have bestowed their at-

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tention, has made it necessary for the committee to speak separately of the gain, which the sciences of botany, zoölogy, comparative anatomy, and geology, have derived from their labors. How much persevering diligence and exertion were necessary, in order to produce such results, will appear from a historical sketch of the journey itself, and from a consideration of the many hindrances, with which our travellers had almost incessantly to contend, and to which they were not unfrequently obliged to yield.'

A brief sketch of the journey itself is then subjoined by the committee, which is, in substance, as follows.

In 1820, the Baron von Minutoli determined on undertaking a journey to the East, for the purpose of antiquarian researches. He proposed to the Royal Academy, that they should send out some young men of scientific acquirements, at the expense of the state, in order to accompany him. The Royal Council gave permission to Mr Liman, professor of architecture, to attach himself to this expedition. The Academy of Sciences also made a pecuniary grant, for a like purpose, to Doctors Ehrenberg and Hemprich (naturalists already distinguished by their publications), which appeared to them sufficient for their support, during one year. At Rome, by the liberality of Prince Henry of Prussia, the literary mission was enlarged by the addition of Professor Scholtz, of Bonn, an orientalist of great acquisitions and of high promise. The original plan of the Baron von Minutoli was to visit Egypt, with its Oases, the Cyrenaica, Dongola, the peninsula of Sinai, Palestine, Syria, and a part of Asia Minor; and then to return home by the way of Greece.

The naturalists were furnished by the Academy, with brief written instructions; and also with a number of questions relative to objects in those countries, on which they wished them to bestow special attention. At the commencement of the month of August, the whole company, with the exception of Professor Liman, assembled at Trieste, and embarked on board of two vessels, which arrived in the harbor of Alexandria in Egypt, in September.

At this place, they obtained information respecting the practicability of a journey to the Cyrenaica, which satisfied them that no special danger would attend it. Mr Drovetti, the French consul, who had lived many years in Egypt, and had himself visited the Oasis of Siva, forwarded, with great readiness and obliging care, the preparations of the caravan; which consist-

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ed of fifty-six camels, and fifty-five armed Bedouin Arabs, among whom was an Arabian Emir, or chief, and his relatives.

The Baron von Minutoli had taken the precaution to obtain a *firman* from the Grand Seignior, and letters of recommendation from the Pacha of Egypt, to Halil, Bey of Derne, on which the company relied for the removal of all obstacles of a political nature. After the caravan left Alexandria, Professor Liman arrived, hastened on, and overtook it at Abusir. Excessive haste had made him neglect to provide necessary clothing; and although his companions did the utmost in their power to accommodate him, yet his deficiency in this respect probably contributed very much to the lamented failure of his health.

The baseness of the free Bedouins now began daily to excite warm contention among the caravan. They belonged to several tribes; and when the company had already advanced far into the Libyan desert, the Hadgi Endaui declared, that he could exercise no control over these different clans. His impatience became even as great as that of the rest of the caravan.

Under these inauspicious circumstances, which rendered watches by night necessary, the caravan attained to a point, which was only one day's journey distant from the borders of the regency of Tripoli. The chief of the Bedouins declared, that he could not pass the boundaries, without the express permission of Halil Bey in Derne. Messengers were sent forward, in consequence of this, with the letters of recommendation. But as the contention among the Bedouins daily increased, the caravan was divided, so that Von Minutoli, with the chief of the Bedouins, and the principal interpreter, went over Ammonium, to Kahira; and the other part of the caravan, to which the naturalists and the artist were attached, waited the return of the messengers sent to Halil Bey. The separation, just described, took place at Bir el Kor.

For seventeen days they waited in the desert, and no messenger returned. Travellers, with whom they met, informed them that Halil Bey was in consternation at a message from a caravan in which a *general* (General von Minutoli) was found. By a still longer delay, the time, for which the camels were hired, expired. It was then determined to go to the Oasis of Siva, where they hoped to find protection against their own Bedouins. They made an offer to a leader of a

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Bedouin clan, who remained behind, of a considerable present, in case he would bring to them a favorable answer from Halil Bay of Derne.

But in all their hopes they were deceived. The caravan travelled, almost without intermission, five days and five nights, through the desert. At Siva, the chiefs, who exercised supreme authority over the Oasis, denounced the travellers as spies, and threatened to shoot them, if they passed over certain designated boundaries. On their return to Alexandria, in consequence of the cold and the fatigues of the journey, Professor Liman and William Söllner, one of the aids of the naturalists, were taken sick. Both, however, reached Alexandria, but fell a sacrifice there, in the beginning of December, to the strenuous efforts which they had made.

The orientalist, Professor Scholtz, separated from the company at Kahira, and directed his way toward Palestine.

After their arrival at Alexandria, Messrs Ehrenberg and Hemprich followed closely the plan of journeying, which had been before marked out. In March they made an excursion into the province of Fayoum. Here their progress was interrupted, by a nervous fever which seized Dr Ehrenberg, and lasted three months; which time they spent under a tent at the foot of the great pyramid in Sakhara. Nothing but the most assiduous care of his companion saved the life of Dr Ehrenberg.

Near the end of July, the travellers moved forward again through Fayoum. This journey proved more prolific for the department of entomology than any other. At the Sea of Mœris they lost another of their aids, F. Kreysel, by a dysentery, which came on in consequence of a cold caught during an excursion upon the lake.

The money, which the Academy of Sciences had supplied from their own resources, was now all expended, and the journey would have ended here, if the wish of the Academy had not been seconded, in the most energetic manner, by the minister of state, Baron von Altenstein. Our travellers came to a determination, indulging the well grounded hope that they might discover new forms of physical bodies in the southern regions, to follow on in the train of Mohammed Ali's victorious army. Between August, 1821, and February, 1823, they had advanced through Nubia to Dongola. All the expectations, which could be excited by countries never before investigated

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by naturalists, were here most happily fulfilled. Ehrenberg and Hemprich advanced through Nubia even into the desert near Embukol and Corti, which separates Sennaar, Cordofan, and Dongola. The exhaustion of their pecuniary means, and the wish to transport, in safety, the natural objects, which they had already collected, occasioned our travellers here to separate from each other. Dr Hemprich went forward with the collections to Alexandria, where, instead of the money which he looked for, he found orders to return. Dr Ehrenberg, who had remained at Dongola, speedily left that country, which was now thrown into great confusion, by a revolution, and by the assassination of Ismael Pacha. The intermittent fever of the tropics had greatly injured his health.

On this journey, the Italian, Vincenzo, was drowned in the Nile, and the interpreter, Ibrahim, died of the plague.

Our travellers were now forced to sell their camels and effects in Egypt. But while they were making preparation for their return according to orders, the joyful intelligence came, that the government had agreed to make considerable advances of money, to enable them to continue their undertaking. In order that they might employ the time in a profitable manner, until pecuniary supplies should be received, they determined to visit the Gulf of Suez, the cliffs of Sinai, and the islands along the coast of Akaba, as far as Moile. This excursion lasted nine months, namely, from May, 1823, to March, 1824. Dr Hemprich first returned with the collections they had made on the peninsula, to Alexandria, where he found only half the sum of money which they expected. Dr Ehrenberg stayed five months longer at Tor; but in a very perplexing condition, suffering even for the necessaries of life.

The plan, which had been before concerted, for the travellers to embark on board a vessel at Tor and sail to Abyssinia, was now necessarily abandoned. It was only after Dr Ehrenberg's return to Alexandria, that the darkness, which brooded over the arrival of the funds granted by the Prussian government, was dissipated. The sad intelligence arrived, that the Prussian consul at Trieste, with whom the pecuniary advances in question had been deposited, had become a bankrupt, and committed suicide.

Nothing remained now, but for our travellers to procure new orders and new advances of funds. The plague was raging in Egypt; and instead of remaining there idle, it seemed

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to them more useful to visit Mount Lebanon, at a favorable season of the year, which would be only a journey of ten or twelve days, in case it were made by sea.

A stay of three months, in this region, sufficed for visiting twice the ridges of this mountain covered with snow, and for travelling over Sanin, through Cœlosyria, to the ruins of Balbec, and then from Balbec, over Bischerra and the cedar-forests of Lebanon, to the coast of Tripoli.

In the beginning of August, 1824, our travellers again reached Damietta and Alexandria. Their company now sustained a new loss. On their return from Syria, one of their European aids died of the intermittent fever. Happily, in the mean time, new orders respecting their journey, and pecuniary supplies to continue it, had already arrived. With newly animated courage, Messrs Ehrenberg and Hemprich immediately set out upon their long wished for journey to Abyssinia.

The Red Sea promised them a rich booty in corals, annelidæ, and mollusca. The fragments, which had been saved out of Forskal's papers, served to excite to new investigations in those tepid waters, for the extension of the science of ichthyology. The journey to Abyssinia was commenced, on the thirteenth of November, 1824. They proceeded, first, from Suez to Jedda, by sea. Thence they made an excursion to Mecca, in order to gain some definite knowledge of the famous balsam-plant. Farther south, in Gumfude, in Arabia Deserta, a Turkish governor showed his gratitude to them for the medical aid which they had afforded him. He gave them a military escort, which would enable them, in safety, to visit the neighboring mountains of Derban.

In the further prosecution of their voyage by sea, important objects of observation occurred, namely, the volcanic island of rocks, Ketumbul, and another, frequented by gazelles, and named Farsan by its inhabitants. The last is wanting, in the chart which accompanies Lord Valentia's Travels.

From Gisan, a border-town between Arabia Felix and Arabia Deserta, our naturalists went to Loheia; near which the unfortunate Forskal congratulates himself on having found the greatest treasures of Arabian plants. Farther south, they visited Kameran, Hauakel, and Dalac; and on the twenty-fourth of April, 1825, they arrived at the harbor of Massaua.

At this place, in a southwest direction, the Abyssinian highlands commence. This was the particular point which our

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travellers were desirous of attaining. Dr Hemprich made an an excursion to the mountains of Geelam. Dr Ehrenberg went to the mountains of Taranta, as far as the hot springs of Eilet. On the slope of the highlands of Abyssinia, productions of nature were collected, which, in respect to their locality, are certainly the rarest which any European museum can boast.

Unhappily, however, the promising prospects of our travellers were soon obscured, by new accidents. An epidemic disease raged at Massaua, by which Niemeyer, a native of Brunswick, and one of their aids, lost his life. All the other travellers, except the Italian, Finzi, who had been hired as a painter, fell sick, and for a long time were in great danger. Dr Hemprich, wearied out by his laborious journey to the mountains, died on the thirtieth of June; after he had, for five years, given proof of most distinguished talents, and of restless activity, and personal energy and resolution.

Dr Ehrenberg, deeply afflicted by the loss of his friend, now thought only of his return; and after ten months' absence, he reached Alexandria, by travelling over Jedda, Cossir, and Kahira. On the first of November, 1825, he embarked here for the port of Trieste.

'Such,' say the committee, 'is the general view of the regions, in which the observations of our travellers were made. In the relation which follows, respecting what was achieved by them for botany and the geography of plants, for zoölogy and comparative anatomy, for geology and mineralogy, for the knowledge of countries and nations, your committee will not separate the labors of Ehrenberg and Hemprich; since both these naturalists were connected by the closest ties of friendship, and before their journey, and during the same, expressed the desire, that all which had been done should be attributed to them both in common.'

The committee next proceed to a particular account of the results of this expedition, in regard to several of the physical sciences and some others. We must only give a very brief summary of these particulars.

I. Botany. Here, the harvest was beyond all expectation. The number of species collected amounts to two thousand eight hundred and seventy-five. Of these, one thousand and thirty-five belong to Egypt and Dongola; seven hundred to Arabia and Abyssinia; and one thousand one hundred and forty to Mount Lebanon. The number for Lebanon is very remark-

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able, as the travellers spent but two months there, and consequently only one season for plants. Many species of these plants were collected in great numbers; so that the whole amount rises to forty-six thousand seven hundred and fifty. The seeds of six hundred and ninety-nine species were gathered, and sent to the Royal Garden; where more than three hundred kinds have flowered, and among these many not hitherto described. The number of plants, not before described, may, in the whole, be reckoned at six hundred. The specimens of woods are forty-four; and the articles of medicine, belonging to the animal kingdom, amount to forty. The young shoots, to the number of forty-eight, which were forwarded in order to be planted, all died. The investigation of plants on the spot, during their growth, extends to more than one thousand kinds. Flowers and fruits were analysed in abundance, and drawings of them were made, as also of the succulent plants. The distinguished talent of Dr Ehrenberg in sketching, served an important purpose here; and he has exhibited much skill in discriminating the different kinds of foreign trees. Most of the kinds discovered by Forskal, were found again by these travellers.

Myrrh the travellers themselves gathered from the *Amyris Kataf.* The different trees from which the Gum Arabic and the leaves of the Senna are gathered, are accurately described by them. They have also given information respecting the manner in which aloes is obtained. Three new species of the bread-fruit tree were also observed by them, namely, *Zygophyllum album*, *Panicum turgidum*, and *Cucumis farinosa*.

The color of the Red Sea, has long given occasion to a variety of conjectures and speculations. Dr Ehrenberg discovered, that it is owing to small animalcules (which he names *Oscillatoria*), that hold a rank about midway between plants and animals. Through Dr Ehrenberg, we now know, that the various kinds of mould (which consists of small plants, that are produced upon substances in a state of decay) are altogether the same, under all the varieties of climate; which also shows, that the inferior kinds of vegetation are every where the same.

The beginnings of vegetation, on the low islands in the Red Sea, were accurately observed by the travellers. The prevalence of plants, both cultivated and wild, was also a subject of their particular attention; so that the science of the geography of plants will be greatly enlarged by them.

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II. Zoölogy. This department of science was an object of special attention. As to the extent and variety of subjects, and carefully conducted experiments, as well as in respect to fundamental observations and facts, the labors of our travellers here were not only of equal magnitude with those in other departments of science, but were of so great importance, that if these alone had been performed, signal gain to the cause of science would have resulted from their undertaking. It is, indeed, difficult to conceive how they could have done so much here, while they also effected so much in other departments.

A brief sketch of the result of their labors, will justify this representation.

Of the class *Mammalia*, they sent to Europe no less than five hundred and ninety individuals, which belonged to one hundred and thirty-five different species. Very few of these had previously been either generally known, or accurately described. The specimens, and the remarks by which they were accompanied, afford very important explanations of older writers, and solutions of the doubts of more recent ones, respecting the imaginary representations of the ancients. The number and selection of the specimens also give, at the same time, a just representation of the changes occasioned by sex, age, and season. Anatomical examinations, also, which had respect to each of these circumstances, completed the circle of knowledge respecting these objects; and have left very little to be accomplished by subsequent investigators. The few known objects among those examined have become now more satisfactorily known, through the labors of our travellers, in respect to the countries where they are found, and with regard to the changes produced upon them, as to their form, by the influence of various climates.

Here the Report touches upon a great many particulars, in regard to which, either corrections of old opinions have been made, or information entirely new has been communicated. Our travellers met with many species, belonging to a variety of genera, which were before unknown in Europe. The *incisor* animals, the leap-mouse, the squirrel (new varieties of which were found on Mount Lebanon), the monkey, the various kinds of beasts and birds of prey, the *Cerdo* of the ancients, wild dogs and cats, foxes, jackalls, weasels, bears, ruminating animals, domestic animals, the hippopotamus, &c. were all subjects of examination; the result of which has been much enlargement of knowledge, in respect both to their nature and their varieties.

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Ornithology also received its due share of attention. The number of specimens, of the various kinds of birds, of which the skins were preserved and stuffed, or the whole were preserved in spirits of wine, amounts to four thousand six hundred and seventy-one individuals, which belong to four hundred and twenty-nine species.

Some of the most remarkable specimens among these, are, the ostrich of Cordofan, the magnificent purple stork, the long beaked ibis, the great Egyptian monk-hawk, the white-headed large falcon (probably the original of the falcon which is so often represented in the Egyptian mythology in connexion with the solar god, *Phne*), the grey and black-headed sea-gulls, and the *Dromas Ardeola*, of which last only one specimen was before known.

The genera *Anas*, *Totanas*, and *Tringa*, are the only genera, to which no additions were made by the researches of our travellers. To all the other genera, many new kinds, before unknown, were added. It is remarkable, that a striking identity was found to exist, between the water-fowl of the Red Sea, and those which are found on the coast of Brazil.

Of *Amphibia*, twenty-seven were preserved in skins, six as skeletons, and seven hundred and four in spirits of wine. The number of species amounts to one hundred and twenty.

Of fish, there are two thousand one hundred and forty-four specimens. In skins, one hundred and seventy-four; as skeletons, eighty-four; in spirits of wine, two thousand one hundred and fifty-six. The whole number of species amounts to four hundred and twenty-six; of which the Red Sea afforded three hundred and ten. One hundred and ten species of these, Dr Ehrenberg and his coädjutor Finzi have painted and colored to the life. The flying-fish of the Red Sea, perhaps the winged *Selav* (שְׂלָו) mentioned in Exodus xvi. 13, that supplied the Israelites with food, our travellers met with at Rhalim (Elim), near where the Israelites received this supply. In a violent storm, they often fly on board of ships, in great numbers.

Such is the suggestion of the committee, in regard to this subject. They also add, that perhaps the occurrence of the *Selav*, (in our English version of the Scriptures, Exodus xvi. 13, rendered *quail*), may be accounted for, by the supposition, that a great multitude of locusts were thrown upon the shore of the sea, dead, but not putrid, that is, recently drowned. This

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last supposition is not new. It was made, long ago, by Ludolf, in his *Comment. ad Historiam Ethiopicam*, Lib. I. c. 13. p. 172. Niebuhr adopts the same supposition in his *Description de l'Arabie*. But there are strong reasons to doubt its correctness. In Leviticus xi. 22., where the kinds of locusts are specified which it was lawful to eat, no *Selav* is found. In Psalms lxxviii. 27., this same *Selav* is called עוף כנף, *winged fowl*, a name not appropriate to locusts.

Nor is the opinion, that *winged fish* were the *Selav*, new. Rudeck (in Ichthyol. B. C. Upsal. 1705, p. 35) long ago advanced it. But there is little probability of its correctness. In the first place, the number of these flying-fish (which are quite small in size) at any one place, would ill suffice to feed three millions of people, and this plenteously. Besides, these fish never take their flight over land. They only rise a small distance above the water, continue their flight for a little space, and then necessarily descend again, for respiration, into their native element. So says Hasselquist, who is worthy of all credit, in his *Palæstinense Itinerarium*, p. 255, German edition; so says Niebuhr, in his *Description de l'Arabie* So, too, a very recent representation of these fish, by the Rev. Mr Stewart, in his 'Journal of a Residence at Hawaii,' presents the subject. They go in shoals, and are often pursued by the larger fish, for the sake of prey. They avoid them for a while by rising out of the water. But as they cannot continue their flight, but must speedily descend, the pursuers watch them while in the air, and often receive them as they descend, in their opened mouths. The idea of such fish taking a flight over land, for some distance, is an extravagance, which we trust the travellers will not maintain in their work; whatever the committee may have thought upon this subject. At Rhalim, Ehrenberg and Hemprich may have seen flying-fish; but to have seen them taking a land-flight, unless by mere accident, such as often throws them on board of ships, seems really to be out of question.

Whatever may be the meaning of *Selav*, then, in Exodus xvi. 13., we are well persuaded it is neither *locusts* nor *flying-fish*. But as we are not now writing a commentary on the Scriptures, we cannot stop further to inquire what the word does mean, as used by the sacred writer.

Specimens of fresh-water fish were collected by the travellers from the Nile, the Nahhr el Kelb and the Nahhr Ibrahim

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in Syria, from the outlets of the Warm Springs at Rhalim in Tor on Sinai, from the previously unknown streams of Wadi Kanune and Wadi Djara in the Arabian Desert, and from the outlet of the Sun Spring, in the Oasis of Ammonium.

Of Mollusca they gathered three thousand five hundred and eight, namely, two thousand five hundred and sixty-seven Conchylia, and eight hundred and fifty-one of other kinds. The species amount to three hundred and ten. The latest enumeration before this, of Conchylia to be found in the Red Sea, was by Professor Brocchi, in the 'Biblioteca Italiana,' which comprises only ninety-one species.

With Annelidæ our travellers filled two hundred and sixty-one glass vessels, comprising sixty-seven species. All these were investigated by the aid of the microscope, described, and the characteristics of the new kinds accurately delineated.

Of Crustacea six hundred and seventy-five were gathered, two hundred and three preserved by drying, and four hundred and seventy-two in spirits of wine. Of Arachnoidæ, two hundred and seventy-five, belonging to one hundred and twenty species. Of insects, more than twenty thousand specimens, of between one thousand five hundred and two thousand species. Clouds of locusts they also observed, and forwarded specimens of them. With Epizoa they filled one hundred and two glass vessels; with Entozoa, six hundred, and of these there were one hundred and ninety-eight species. Of Echinodermæ they collected three hundred and sixty-five kinds; of Acalephæ, twenty kinds; of Polypi and Corals, sixty-two kinds; of Infusoria, fifty different forms.

Most of these various animals are represented by drawings, and are accurately described, in reference to their locality and zoölogical geography.

Never before, we believe, was a collection, so rich, made at any one time, from the animal kingdom, or one which promises so much to enlarge the science of zoölogy.

III. Zoötomy and Physiology. Our travellers bestowed more pains on the anatomical examinations of the smaller, than of the larger animals; because a due examination of many small subjects can be made only when they are recent. By this means many new genera and species have been discovered. The formation, also, has been oftentimes very satisfactorily explained by them.

The anatomy of insects, in the Linnæan sense of this word,

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has been greatly enriched by them, by a series of observations on the pupils of insects' eyes, illustrated by colored engravings; on the formation of the coloring in the same, during their metamorphosis; and on the metamorphosis itself.

Appropriate drawings illustrate the position of the entrails of one hundred and two different species of fish; besides which are a multitude of drawings illustrating the animals themselves. Very extensive representations are made of Amphibia, particularly of their eyes.

Of birds, one hundred and fifty-three eggs and many nests have been gathered. The tongues of fifty-two kinds, and the palates of fifteen kinds, have also been represented by drawings. The fœtus of fishes, amphibia, fowls, and mammalia, have also been preserved. Skeletons and skulls of the Hippopotamus, the Hyrax Syriacus, gazelles, &c. have also been collected.

For years to come, the whole of these treasures cannot be fully displayed to the public.

IV. Results for Geology and the science of Fossils. In large districts of country, through which our travellers went, they observed in the most careful manner the relations of locality. The masses of stone, of various kinds, are divided into five groups; 1. The alluvial and tertiary formations of Egypt and the neighboring desert. 2. The original and transition ledges of the cataracts, the granular lime-stone, and the hornblend stone, of Nubia, together with the salt rock of Dongola. 3. The porphyry and Syenite formations of Sinai, and the peninsula in its neighborhood. 4. The Jura lime-stone of Lebanon, with petrifactions of fish three thousand feet above the sea at Jebbehl, and sea-muscles at Sanin near to the region of snow, and also Bovey-coal in sand stone and slate clay at Bischerra, and Basalt at Haddet, some six thousand feet above the sea. 5. The coasts of the Red Sea, with the volcanic island of Ketumbul, and the southeast slope of the Abyssinian mountains. In all these countries, Messrs Ehrenberg and Hemprich observed a striking similarity of geological relations, particularly in the association of mountainous masses. Several sketches of mineralogical charts give testimony of the untiring activity of the travellers in this part of their labors.

V. Countries and Nations. Astronomical calculations, to fix the latitude and longitude of places, our travellers did not make. But they often measured the angles which the

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most important places made with the magnetic meridian. They made estimates of distances, and kept an accurate itinerary. At the entrance of the bay of Akaba, and at Gisan, Dr Ehrenberg took sketches of several islands which are not noticed in Lord Valentia's charts. The island of Farsan, three days' journey in circumference, with three villages and several harbors for small vessels, is to be regarded as a new discovery. Special consideration, also, is due to the routes from Tor to Sinai and Suez; over Beda to the rush swamp near Mount Goaebe; from Suez to Cameran, along the eastern coast of the Red Sea, where are a multitude of anchoring places unknown to geographers; from Gumfude in the country of the Wechabites, to Mount Derban; from Massaua in Abyssinia, to the Taranta mountains and the warm springs in Eilet; from the two snowy peaks of Lebanon, through Cœlosyria, to Balbec, and from thence to the coast of Tripoli; from Alexandria to Bir el Kor, and thence to the Oasis of Siva.

In the countries on the northern coast of the Red Sea, geographical observations were collected, which may serve to cast light on the oldest and most venerable traditions respecting the human race. The travellers saw Bir Beda, probably the hitherto undetermined Bedea of the Scriptures. They also saw the sedge-sea, *Yam-Suph* (יַם סוּף). The ancient Midian, the place where Moses so long sojourned, is still marked by the situation of Magne, where are houses surrounded by gardens. At Tor, Ehrenberg and Hemprich recognised in the warm springs of Rhalim, the station of the Israelites at Elim. Wells, in this country, are more lasting monuments of nature, than forests or sand hills.

Besides these geographical notices, our travellers have sent to Europe, 1. A catalogue of the establishments of the Maronites, in the northern part of Lebanon, both in the Latin and Arabic orthography, amounting in number to six hundred and nineteen, and written out for them by the secretary of the Emir Beschir, prince of Lebanon. 2. A catalogue of anchoring places, islands, coral reefs, and towns, on the eastern coast of the Red Sea, between Suez and Cameran, in number two hundred and eighty-seven, and for the most part in the Arabic language. 3. A similar catalogue of places on the western coast of the Red Sea, in number eighty-six. 4. A chart of the country of the Wechabites, from Taife (near Mecca) to Assir and Gumfunde, by an Arabian, an officer in the army of

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the Pacha of Egypt. 5. A profile of the mountainous coast of the Red Sea, of Sinai, of Lebanon, and of the island of Cyprus, by Dr Ehrenberg.

Their journal contains, also, many remarks on the races of men, their customs, language, &c. Every where they have paid attention to the influence of climate on organic formation. They have registered more than eight hundred thermometrical observations, on the average temperature of the climate within the tropics, or on the southern boundaries of the temperate zone, so little known hitherto by experiment.

Many mummies, also, of men and beasts, two papyrus rolls, found in Egypt, seven Arabic manuscripts, and an Abyssinian Bible (the Psalms in the Amharic language), are parts of the riches which they have amassed.

Such is a brief view of the scientifical results of the labors of Messrs Ehrenberg and Hemprich, in Egypt, Nubia, Syria, and the two coasts of the Red Sea. The committee, at the close of their excellent report, observe, that all the labors of the travellers would be of little avail (however important in themselves they may be, for the enlargement of natural science and of physical geography), provided the government should not assist in promoting the publication of their results. They express the fullest confidence, however, that this will be done. They then conclude their report, by urging on the Academy the importance of taking effectual measures that the contemplated work, with all its maps and very numerous drawings, should be executed in a style worthy of the times, of the present improvements in science, and of the source from which the publication proceeds, without making it, at the same time, too expensive for the purchase of naturalists in general. They recommend, in regard to the drawings, that where new genera or species are to be represented, sketches as well as full forms should be employed, so as to make the representations more graphic and complete. A close imitation of the masterly sketches of Dr Ehrenberg is all which they deem to be necessary, fully to accomplish this purpose.

The Report ends, by recommending to the Academy a speedy publication of the proposed work.

An Appendix to the Report informs us of the plan, sketched out by Dr Ehrenberg, the surviving member of the literary mission, for the intended publication. Our scientific readers will be gratified, we trust, with a brief view of this plan.

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The work is to be divided into two principal parts, bearing the common title, *Travels for the purposes of Natural History, in Northern Africa and Western Asia.* The first part is to contain a narration of the journey; the second, a copious representation and description of the natural objects examined.

The first part is to be subdivided into, 1. Travels from Alexandria to the Cyrenaica. 2. To Upper Egypt, Fayoum, and Dongola. 3. Remarks on Egypt. 4. Journey to Mount Sinai. 5. To Syria and Lebanon. 6. To Arabia and Abyssinia.

These are to be accompanied with various remarks and charts, appropriate to their respective contents. The remarks will have respect to the geological and physical peculiarities of countries, and also their points of agreement with other known countries; to the physical and political condition of the inhabitants, their customs, sports, their improvement in language, their arts, trade, intercourse, &c.; to the organic productions of the countries, and as well the wild as the domestic plants and animals of the same.

Of maps, drawings, catalogues, &c. to accompany the work, are designated, a chart of the Red Sea, with many geographical corrections; a profile of the whole eastern coast of the Red Sea, and of a part of the western coast; a list of all the anchoring places and islands, on the eastern coast of the same, and also of some on the western coast; a view of Mount Sinai, from the highest peak of St Catharine, with the designation of the angles made by several islands and mountain peaks, which fall within the horizon of the same; an Arabic chart of the Hedjas, by an Arabian in the army of the Pacha of Egypt, which subdued the Wechabites; the route from Beirout in Syria, over the snowy peaks of Sanin on Lebanon, through Cœlosyria to Balbec, &c. and thence to Tripoli; an Arabic and Latin catalogue of all the places (six hundred and nineteen in number) in the northeast part of Lebanon; a series of seven hundred and seventy-three observations with the thermometer, mostly in tropical countries; vocabularies of several Arabic dialects, of the Berber language, of the Massaua, of the Amharic, of the Tigne, of the Saho, and of the Yaenke tongues, the last of which (hitherto unknown) is spoken by a negro tribe, on the coast of Sennaar; directions in regard to the manner of travelling, and collecting natural objects, &c.; and portraits of the various kinds of dress, of sailing vessels, of utensils, of kitchen vegetables, &c.

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The first part of the work is to be contained in two volumes, with an Appendix, embracing the matters above enumerated. The second part, designed principally for naturalists, is to be subdivided into four parts. 1. Descriptive zoölogy, with anatomy and physiology. 2. Plates representing the newly discovered animals, &c., with a short text accompanying them, to be published in numbers. 3. Descriptive botany. 4. Sketches of plants, with a short descriptive text, &c., to be issued in numbers.

Such is the prospect of this magnificent and laborious work; a work calculated to exhibit to the highest advantage, what the *iron diligence* of the German literati is wont to accomplish. No nation on earth has more enthusiasm and scientific ardor, than the Germans; and none are more competent to apply these qualifications most effectually to the objects which come within their limits. The French corps of scientific men are, indeed, exceedingly active and laborious; and to none are the sciences of chemistry, physiology, mathematics, astronomy, pharmacy, and anatomy more deeply indebted. But there is, generally speaking, more of persevering and minutely accurate diligence among the Germans.

We cannot help doing honor to the king of Prussia and his ministry, as well as to the Royal Academy at Berlin, for the generous support which they have given to the scientific expedition, which has been described in the preceding pages. Nor is this the only noble transaction, in which the king of Prussia has been deeply concerned. Within a few years, he has made freemen of a large portion of his subjects, by making them lords of the soil which they cultivate, possessors by mere fee simple. He has raised up the second, if not the first University of learning, now in existence. We refer to that of Berlin, which is not yet twenty years old. He has greatly improved other Universities in his territory, particularly that of Halle. He supports, at his own expense, as we are credibly informed, twenty-five theological students at Wittenberg, on the very spot where Luther taught, and where three professors of theology still remain, one of whom is the well known Schleusner. He has made provision, that all the children of his realm shall be taught to read, and be in possession of a Bible. He every year bestows some distinguished honor or privilege on literary men, who contribute to the honor of his kingdom, and the instruction of his subjects. All this, too, with very moderate pecuniary resources, Prussia having scarcely any commerce with foreign countries.

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When we think on this, and compare it with what our governments are doing in the cause of science and literature, our hearts almost melt within us. It has generally been the reproach of republics, that they had no sympathy for literature. Nay, they have often been reproached with even fearing and hating it, lest it should tend, if much honored, to introduce inequality among the citizens. When we call to mind, too, that literature is even taxed by our general government, that a poor student, who has not one dollar in his pocket, is obliged to pay one shilling on the pound avoirdupois, for every Latin and Greek book which he imports from Europe, which duty often amounts to five or even ten times the original price of the book; we are ready to ask, Where is the boasted illumination and liberality of the republic, and of the age, in which we live? We do beseech the enlightened men, who are at the head of our affairs, both in the general and state governments, to wipe away the reproach which rests upon us in this respect; and at least, not to frown upon literary effort, by imposing heavy taxation upon it. Every petty state in Germany, not so large as one of our counties, must have its University; and that generously supported too. Here, if the Universities live, it is well; a Governor's speech, or a President's message boasts of them to the world. If they die, too, it is equally well, so far as our political enthusiasts are concerned. In the scramble for office which pervades all ranks, the higher and permanent interests, and lasting glory of the country are apt to be forgotten. The question, who are to be our next presidents, and governors, and senators, and representatives, absorbs all other inquiries. A much deeper interest is felt in the business of *governing*, than in the inquiry, whether, by and by, there will be anything worth *being governed*.

We make the appeal to the country, and to the world, fearlessly in regard to this subject. Facts are before the eyes of every well-informed, clear-sighted man, which will not permit him to contradict this statement. A few solitary and honorable exceptions only can be made to it, in the appropriation of money for the benefit of literary seminaries.

Where are the voyages, like that of Ehrenberg and Hemprich, supported by government or by literary societies? We are aware that our own western wilds have been partially explored, by order of government. We know, too, that the intelligent and active men in office, who have been principally

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concerned in all this, would have done very much more of the same nature, if their countrymen would have suffered them. We do hope, that more men of the like ardor will be raised up, who, heedless whether they carry the next election or not, will look at higher objects, and do something of permanent benefit to the interests of science, something which will contribute to the lasting honor of their country. We do believe there are men, now high in office, that would, with all their hearts, embark in such undertakings if they dared to do it. May the day speedily dawn, when they will venture upon the experiment!

But we must return from our discursive review, and come to an end. We trust the votaries of science, in this country, will thank us for laying before them the prospectus of a work, so important as that to be published under the auspices of the Royal Academy at Berlin. We cannot refrain from expressing our hope, our earnest desire, that some of our Colleges, or some Society of literary and scientific men among us, will not fail to make immediate arrangements to secure the importation and translation of the first volumes of the work above announced, and their republication in this country, for the benefit of our numerous naturalists, and through them, for the benefit of our community. Geography, too, is to receive no unimportant accession from the work.

Might we be permitted to name any literary Society, on whom we should feel the greatest liberty to call, and to urge on them this undertaking, we should name the Corporation of Harvard University, or some of the literary and scientific Societies in its neighborhood. It is worthy of their attention, and would well repay them for all the trouble and expense which it might occasion. Every genuine son of science, of literature, or of the arts, we are sure, will join with us in these wishes. Every man, who is enlightened, and who loves his country, will rejoice to see the means and the spirit of literature and of science multiplied and extended.

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The Northeastern Boundary. Since the article on this subject passed through the press, we have seen a Report of a committee of the legislature of Maine, in which the same question is fully discussed. The committee had access to a great mass of documents, copies of which were obtained by the executive of Maine, from the department of state, of the United States. They have published some of the most important of these documents, as an Appendix to their report. We should have taken some notice of this valuable report, had it reached us a few days sooner ; but we do not find in it, on examination, anything which would have varied the course of our argument, or any material facts or documents which had escaped our attention. The report discusses some topics not within the scope of our inquiry, which it was our purpose to confine strictly to the question of right between the two countries. The proceedings which have been resorted to by the parties for enforcing their respective claims, and the measures which have been adopted for bringing the question to an adjustment, may be made the subject of another article. In another document, published by order of the legislature of Maine, namely, the Report of Charles S. Daveis, Esq., who was appointed by the governor of Maine to inquire into the facts of the case, a narrative is given of the controversies which have arisen, between the settlers on the disputed territory and the officers of the province of New Brunswick, from their attempts to enforce the jurisdiction of the province within that territory. These facts are important, and they show the cause of the excitement which prevails, in the state most directly interested, in relation to the question in controversy, and the necessity of a speedy adjustment of that controversy.

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North American Review,

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AND

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